[ca. 1850]

THE STAFF OF LIFE

Women who dressed thousands of robes for the fur trade each year also prepared hairy buffalo robes for the winter overclothing and bedding of their own families. Robes were cut up to make hair-lined mittens, winter caps with ear flaps, winter moccasins, and ceremonial headdresses.

Soft-dressed buffalo skins without the hair were used for lodge covers and linings, for pad saddles, and for winding sheets for the dead. The smoke-softened upper portions of old, worn lodge covers were salvaged, cut up, and reused for breechclouts and items of winter clothing—men's and boys' shirts, women's and girls' dresses, and leggings for both sexes. The thinner skins of buffalo calves were made into tobacco pouches and winter underpants worn by girls and women.

Buffalo horns made practical powder flasks for Blackfoot warriors. Horns were also fashioned into spoons, cups, and ladles. The long, shaggy hair of the head, beard, and shoulders was braided into rope halters and bridles. Hair supplied the soft stuffing for pad saddles and balls used in games. Hair ornaments hung from lodges, headdresses, and war clubs. The buffalo's tail also was used for tipi ornaments. Mounted on a stick, the tail served as a fly brush. Buffalo hoofs strung on rawhide cords made noisy rattles. The scrotum of a bull provided a durable stirrup cover. The Blackfoot Indians derived their best glue from a bull's phallus, cut into small pieces and boiled.

No less useful were many of the internal parts of this animal. Buffalo sinew supplied thread for sewing and a strong, flat cord for binding heads and feathers to arrowshafts. Bow strings and bow backings were both of twisted bull sinew. The brains, liver, and fat were rubbed into hides to soften them during the skin-dressing process. Buffalo fat also was used to polish stone tobacco pipes and to mix with earth pigments to provide an oily base for paints. A yellow paint could be obtained from the buffalo's gallstone. Water buckets were made from the paunch, and the bladder was used as a bag for marrow grease.

The boss rib of a buffalo made a serviceable tool for straightening arrowshafts. A series of curved ribbones furnished the runners for a boy's sled.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

which would show when the cases were in use. She did not bother to paint the backs, which would be hidden from view. 281

She used willow sticks for rulers in laying out the decorative fields, and as straight edges in painting the outlines of the geometric designs. She first outlined all the painted forms in a single color. Then she filled in the larger areas of the composition with the desired colors. Some women mixed their paints with hot water, which caused them to sink into the damp hide and become permanently fixed after the hide dried. Others applied to all the painted areas an overcoat of sticky glue, made by boiling the tail of a beaver or the clean, second-scrapings of buffalo hides. This thin coat of sizing gave the colors a glossy appearance. 415 532 [386] [381]

After the paint dried, the craftswoman turned the rawhide over and removed the hair with a hide-scraper or a rock. Pounding the opposite side with a rock whitened the unpainted portions of the rawhide and made the colors stand out from the background. Finally, the woman cut the parfleches to their desired shapes with a sharp knife, folded them into envelope form, and burned the tie holes with a heated iron rod. The parfleches were finished.

Areas of rawhide remaining after the parfleches were cut out were not wasted. They were used for smaller containers or for resoles in repairing moccasins. Women made other rawhide cases in rectangular or cylindrical form and painted them. Those intended to hold sacred objects were decorated with long, cut-rawhide fringes. 281 415

Men made shields and drums of rawhide. To make a shield, the thick hide of a buffalo bull's neck was placed over a fire in the ground so that it would shrink and become still thicker and tougher. It was trimmed into a circular form about eighteen inches in diameter. Men painted on their shields sacred symbols such as buffalo, the sun, the moon, and stars, which they believed would protect them from their enemies' bullets and arrows. The belly hide of a horse was preferred for drumheads. It would not soften or stretch out of shape. To tighten a drumhead, they held it near a fire. Paintings on drums were also of sacred character. 281 [532] [151] 281 534 [532]

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

winning horse was often fifty to one hundred yards in the lead. Sometimes one horse played out and was not able to finish. Rarely was it a close race all the way.

After the race the gleeful winners claimed the articles they had won. If a loser protested that the race had not been fair, men of the winning society knocked him down and rubbed dirt or manure on him. With the winning horse in the lead, the victorious society marched back to camp, once around the camp circle, and stopped at the lodge of the leader. The winning horse was entrusted to the care of an old man, who picketed it near the lodge and sang to it. The men of the winning society sang, danced, and rejoiced late into the night.

Members of the losing society might consider this a good time to organize a raiding party in quest of a fast horse from an enemy camp—one that would enable them to turn the tables on their rivals the next summer.[10]

Certainly the fun-loving Blackfeet had no dearth of recreational opportunities, active or sedentary, summer or winter. Nor were their activities confined to the daytime. At night the Indians gathered for social dances. Usually the women sat on one side, the men opposite them, with three or four drummers in the center. As the drummers beat a lively rhythm on their tambourine-like instruments, individuals rose and danced about, bending their knees, stomping their feet, and swaying their bodies gracefully in time to the music.

They whiled away the long winter nights with story-telling. Many of the older men were masters of the art of telling a good story, and their repertory was both extensive and varied. There were myths of the stars, of Napi's amusing adventures, and of the origins of sacred rituals and common customs. There were tales of animals and of the heroic deeds of Blackfoot warriors in their conflicts with many enemies. Some of these stories were humorous, even vulgar; some were educational and inspirational.

[178] [561] [10] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 227–34. The popular intersociety horse races ended with the breakdown of Blackfoot men's societies in the 1870's.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

long poles connected by rawhide lines converged upon the medicine lodge from the four cardinal directions. They sang as they advanced. Then, using their poles as props, they carefully raised the center pole into position so that it stood upright in the hole dug to receive it. The medicine women stood by, praying that this pole raising might be accomplished successfully. Should the pole fail to stand upright, people would surely accuse her of being less virtuous than she proclaimed to be.

Raising the center pole provided the dramatic climax to the medicine woman's role in the sun dance. Once this pole was firmly planted, her assistants led her to her lodge, where she broke her fast on berry soup. Her husband took a final sweat bath to purify himself. Meanwhile, the other men of the great encampment completed the medicine lodge as quickly as possible by binding the rafters with the prepared hide thongs and covering the sides of the lodge with green cottonwood boughs.

Early the next morning a booth of cottonwood boughs was erected on the west side of the medicine lodge. This booth was occupied by two or more men who periodically left it to dance to the accompaniment of several old men who sang and beat upon a buffalo rawhide with rattles. Wearing only breechclouts and moccasins, the dancers faced the sun and blew upon eagle-bone whistles. Their dance consisted primarily of raising and lowering themselves on their toes in time to the music. These dancers were spoken of as "weather dancers" because they were responsible for preventing rain and insuring sunny weather through the remaining days of the ceremony. They usually performed for four days, during which they refrained from eating. At intervals during this period persons approached the weather dancers to be painted and prayed for.

On the first of the four days a fire pit was dug between the center pole and the entrance to the medicine lodge on its east side. Then, one by one, victorious warriors entered the medicine lodge, hung offerings to the sun on the center pole, and recounted their war exploits. After reciting each brave deed, a warrior placed a stick on the fire. Those who could add enough sticks

Usually, a curing bundle contained a sucking (or blowing) tube of eagle bone, several sharp flint blades for bleeding, bags of plant material and paint, one or two polished pebbles and some object representing the source of power. Also, a diviner often used a rattle and/or drum to accompany his singing.

Up to twenty-five of these bundles have been collected from the Blackfoot. Curing bundles among the Cree and Saulteaux show a similar pattern of construction.

An afflicted person, or his representative sought a diviner's aid which was always offered for a fee. A Blackfoot diviner distinguished various forms of disease ranging from physical maladies to mental disorders which resulted from infractions of taboos or the harassment of ghosts.

The following translation, an interview with a Blood diviner, illustrates the typical procedure to obtain power and use it to divine disease,

> I had a dream while questing; a man appeared and asked me in to the white tipi. I saw a sick man inside (skin and bones). The holy person asked me to sit on the right side facing the door. He sat on the left side. He had a drum. He said, 'I am a doctor.' He took the sucking tube. The sick man is half covered with a blanket. The drum was painted and then he painted a stroke on his forehead and with little fingers on the top of the hand. Then he painted the sick man the same way. Then he started to sing. There are two songs. The first song (sings it) uses the rim of the drum only. (Sings another with stick rubbing on the drum.) Then there is fast drumming and the doctor looks at the patient and prepared to use a sucking tube made of eagle bone. There is a bowl of hot water with a single stone in it. The doctor sucks up the hot water and sprays the hot water on the patient three times. On the fourth time the patient will rise. The drummer stopped and disappeared. The sick man was cured. He used a muskrat skin to wipe his face. Then the doctor gave me his drum. It was painted red around the rim. With a red spot in the middle. The stick was made with buckskin and sinew. He gave me the bone and the

824 Juniperus spp.
278
757

An infusion of the root was given as a general tonic.

Lomatium triternatum

[755] A diviner would use an eagle bone tube to blow the chewed root onto a
[237] patient's affected part. The healing-qualities of the spray were believed to penetrate the body at that place.

Perideridia gairdneri

[755] A diviner, like Dog Child, would find the root mysteriously during the
[533] rituals. While he sang, often with a drum, he would dig the ground with a
[534] special bear claw, coming up with the root everytime and anywhere. Then the
[237] root was chewed and sprayed on the patient, effecting the remedy.
[413]

Populus tremuloides

An infusion of the bark was given for symptoms resembling heart burn or general discomfort.

"Stink Foot"

The plant was burned to ward off sickness.

Yucca glauca

[302] Roots were boiled in water and used as a hair tonic to prevent falling hair. (McClintock 1910)

752 PLANTS ON THE TREATMENT OF WOUNDS AND HEMORRHAGE
824 Artemisia frigida
278

The leaves were chewed and applied to wounds in order to lessen the swelling. A bleeding nostril was stuffed with the soft leaves.

Astragalus canadensis

The chewed root was applied to cuts which were then bandaged.

Berberis repens

An infusion of the root was applied to wounds as an antiseptic.

824 PLANTS IN CRAFT AND FOLKLORE

Abies lasiocarpa

The needles were used as a deodorant and were packed with stored items, saddle pads, or burned in a household smudge.

Acer glabrum

[386] [415] Small cases of the folded bark contained the grease which was mixed with ochre to make paint. A larger carrying case was made of the same material and worn under the left arm.

Allium spp.

[237] A piece of hide was dipped in a decoction of Allium bulb and used to shine arrows. The bulbs were also rubbed on quivers as a deodorant.

Amelanchier alnifolia

[431] [524] [222] Favors were asked while presenting a gift of four of the berries. The receiver was obliged to return the goodwill. Girls played a game while harvesting the berries. After some berries had been gathered the girls would sit together and hold their breath while another called out 'tops, tops, tops' at a regular beat. Each girl put a berry in her bag for every call and the one who held her breath the longest won all the other girls' berries.

Anemone patens

[522] [514] Because the plant acted as vesicant, pranks were played on unsuspecting people who would ask someone to fetch them some toilet paper. It worked especially well at night.

Arctostaphylos uva-ursi

534 [796] The dry berries were put in rattles (Fig. 33). They were preferred over stones because they were lighter and didn't make dust, a constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

534
796

Fig. 33 — Ceremonial rattle of the North Peigan. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AF 1308.

824
534
[796]
[301]
problem during long ceremonies in which many rattles were used.

The dry berries were strung on necklaces.

This berry was the one used by the girl who escaped from the cannibal in the story of the Lost Children (Wissler, Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians, p. 128).

Artemisia campestris

[281] An infusion of the root was rubbed on a hide that was being tanned.

Artemisia frigida

For deodorant, saddles, (Fig. 34) womens' pillows, hide bags and quivers were stuffed with Artemisia frigida and A. ludoviciana.

[534] In the preparation of rattles, the skin was moulded around balls of the plant.

[237] Paint applicators made from broken shoulder blades of buffalo or
[413] cattle were cleaned with A. frigida, then dipped in another color.

[751] Quantities of the plant were put on campfire coals and the smoke repelled mosquitoes.

[524] Children played a game of clubbing gophers unconcious and reviving them holding the crushed leaves to the animal's nostrils.

[281] Hides were treated with water in which the plant had been soaked or brewed.

Aster spp.

The various color forms of this genus were thought to be the effect of aging rather than indicative of taxonomic difference. The sequence went from white to blue and finally yellow.

[793] The Holy Woman of the Sun Dance wore a necklace of the yellow form.
[524]
[857] Children rubbed the flowers on their bouncing arrows for color.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81]

824 237 Also, the stems[A] were crushed and combined with porcupine quills which had been quartered longitudinally. Both were stored under pressure in a moose bladder-bag until the quills turned a light pink.

824 [386] [237] Evernia vulpina

A yellow dye was produced from pieces of this lichen which was combined under pressure with porcupine quills.

"Fish-backbone"

[281] The root was immersed in water which was later used to soak a green hide. Then the hide was stored for tanning.

Gaillardia aristata

[281] [758] The flower heads were rubbed on rawhide bags for waterproofing. Also, the flowerheads were used to absorb soups and broth and served as spoons for the sick and invalid.

Glycyrrhiza lepidota

The burrs of this plant received the name "Takes-a-Woman-By-Force" because, like a man to a woman, they attach themselves so readily.

[753] [755] It was believed that ghosts shot their victims with parts of the burr, thereby inflicting disease. If the "mysterious bullet" was not extracted by a diviner the patient was sure to die or his face would contort and he would go dumb.

[271] Buffalo runners kept the burrs in the mouth to protect against thirst.

Heracleum lantum

[534] 524 824 The hollow stems of the plant were made into children's flutes. They also served as toy blowgun, with bullets furnished by choke-cherry pits. Schaeffer records a variation of the blowgun idea amongst the South Peigan. Children would cut off a section of the dry stem and plug one end with a

[A] /The stems of Equisetum arvense--Analyst/

752 It was a styptic on wounds and boiled with Psoralea
824 esculenta to treat coughs. The infusion of the fungus was taken to stop
278 diarrhea and treat dysentery.
757

Populus tremuloides

534 Whistles were made by loosening the bark of a branch replacing it and
824 blowing through it. Another type of whistle was made by blowing through the moistened leaves.

824 Potentilla anserina
[291]

The runners of the plant were used to fix leggings in place. The leggings were tied above the knee and then folded over to the ankle, like a
[284] boot. Girls used the runners to tie blankets. Though the runners did not hold their strength long, they were easily replaced.

Potentilla fruticosa

The plant, a small bush, was called "deer seat" because the animals were often found resting in clearings where the plant was common.

[513] Pillows were sometimes filled with the leaves.

Prunus virginiana

[352] The straight branches were used in making back-rests (Fig. 36). The
[796] hard wood, which did not burn easily, was used in making incense tongs
[252] (Fig. 37) and roasting skewers.

Psoralea esculenta

[301] Pieces of the root were dried and attached to clothing and robes as ornamentation and medicine. Sometimes this root was scraped and used to replace the pieces of Polyporus which was attached to "Weasel-robes".

Ribes aureum

186 The Sarsi Indians were a constant source of humor to the Blackfoot.
522 Because they were Beaver Indians who were in the midst of adopting a plains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

186. 522 mode, they were often considered awkward and clumsy. For example, it is said that they had to be taught to put ear-flaps on their lodges so that the smoke would be controlled.

824 This plant received the name, "Sarsi punctures-berry", because while the berries looked like the "real punctures-berry" (Ribes oxyacanthoides), they didn't taste as good and were considered "fakes".

524 824 Ribes oxyacanthoides

Children played a game with the berries of this bush. They sat in a circle and began counting to ten, each child counting one number around the circle. The tenth child would take five berries and eat them at once, trying his best not to show a bitter face. If he was successful, the child next to him would do the same and this would continue until one grimaced at the sour taste. He was then struck on the thigh with a knuckle-punch, thus giving the name "punctured-berry" to the plant. The child who never grimaced won all the others' berry supplies.

824 [262] Rubus parviflora

The berries were considered inedible and the plant named "bear-eats-them" to denote the fact.

[386] [281] The berries were used to dye tanned robes. They were smeared over a new hide and dried in the sun. Then they were scraped off and the hide polished until it shone.

The berry was applied to quivers to strengthen them.

Salix spp.

[534] A buzzing whistle was made by loosening the bark around a branch and blowing through it.

[352] [343] The boughs were cut and used in making back-rest slats and sweatlodge frames.

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societies was in full function at the time of this separation. It should be noted, however, that the greater part of the following information was obtained among the South Piegan and is made the basis for the discussion of the data from other divisions.

THE PIGEONS.

This society is composed of eight officers, an indefinite number of members, and thirteen or more special functionaries, as follows:—

The leader (1)	Old men comrades (4)
The assistant leader (1)	Single men comrades (4)
The bear shirts (2)	The drummers (4)
The yellow pigeons (4)	Women members (1)
The pigeons (x)	

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather tied on the back of his head and carries a bullet-shaped rattle, painted red with a feather on the end. His face and body are painted red. He clothes himself in ordinary costume; that is, robe, breech cloth, and leggings but does not wear a weasel-tail or hair-lock suit. He carries a quiver of buffalo calfskin in which are four arrows and a bow. These he never takes out in the ceremony.

The assistant leader may dress like his superior but also has as his distinctive regalia a skin of a coyote. According to some informants he carries a bow and arrow which, however, he does not use during the dance. He carries a rattle, but not the whistle. His face and body are painted with yellow and red, that is, a yellow ground with a red bar across the mouth and eyes. In the dances these two leaders do not leave their places, simply rising and dancing where they sit.

The pair known as bear shirts have duplicate regalia. They wear belts of bearskin about eight inches wide on which are seven bands of red cloth and a bear tail. Their shirts and moccasins are made from the smoked tops of worn-out tipis. The shirts are slit and cut in rows. The latter are U-shaped cuts so that the loose ends hang down. The edges are fringed. There are arm bands of bearskin, each with a claw attached. The moccasins are heavily fringed around the edges of the soles and the ankles (Fig. 1). The legs are bare. The body is painted red and marked down with the finger tips. The face bears the bear sign, black marks down over the eyes and at the mouth corners. The hair on the forehead is cut short and combed straight up. They carry a bow and four arrows, two of which have blunt points.

The four yellow pigeons wear no clothes except the breech cloth and

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373)

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moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red (Fig. 2). [561] [575] [796] [411] [292] [302]

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off. Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted red. [237]

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades. [302] [898] [887]

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and dancing, members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums. [534]

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant. [535]

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561 575 796 until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, presumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

432 When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

[578] After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 575 The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as follows:—

The leader (1)	The old men comrades (4)
The yellow mosquitoes (4)	The single men comrades (1–2)
The mosquitoes (x)	The drummers (4)

561 575 796 The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose. He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

[237] The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out.

[302] On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.

[292] The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.

[534] The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony, blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.

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561 The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a
575 feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he
796 wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped
[534] with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The
[237] right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the
[292] wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.
[302] The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
[411]
[531]

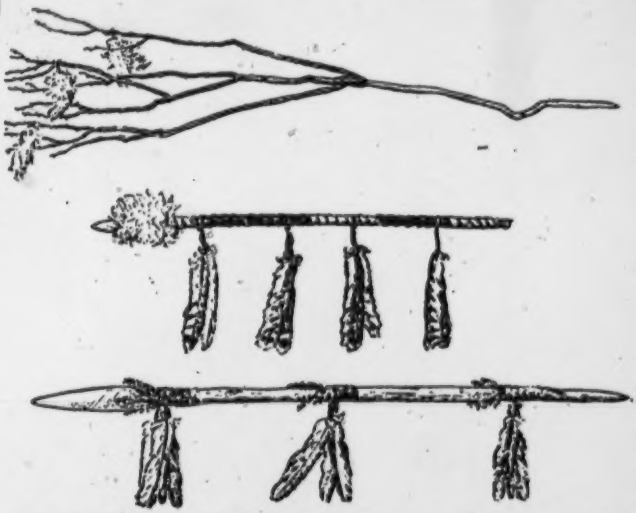

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Fig. 4 *a* (50–5552), *b* (50–5573), *c* (50–6161). Standards used by the Braves: *a* The Willow Brave's Staff; *b* Lance for the Leader; *c* Lance of the White Braves.

561 The one called willo brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
575 branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.)
796 His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

[824] The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies
[237] are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs,
[292] calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head
[302] are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

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they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord should be added.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the ceremony, they use the painting of the lay members.

Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that food may be obtained.

The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and decorated with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their costume is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water pail.

The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society. They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here, they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie-chicken feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are painted red.

No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex-members in ordinary costume."

In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four directions. The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round. The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance, but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but sits next to the leader.

The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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561 usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-
575 dogs, all at the same time.
796 Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running
[432] out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with their medicine powers and retired.

[114] Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says:—

> They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.[1]

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

561 The organization of this society is as follows:—
575

Leader (1)	Old men comrades (4)
Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)	Single men comrades (2)
Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)	Drummers (4)
All-brave-dogs (20)	

561 The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its
575 middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail,
796 hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his
[292] left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth,
[237] and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

[302] Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if
[237] possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips,
[534] neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

[411] The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress

[292]
[237]
[531]

[1] Maximilian, 117.

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575 561 [276] [591] The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the ceremonies. There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and [424] [432] [292] [237] are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course, of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay members have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each wears a feather.

[534] [531] [302] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the painting upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.

[796] [787] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this way.

[887] [203] [534] [292] [237] [556] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired. These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear a feather at the back of his head.

The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the society.

[796] [535] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

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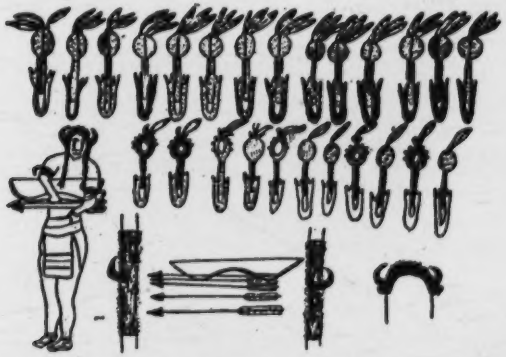
could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9). 561 575

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance. This is done but once. 796 535

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used. 561 575 796 533 [539]



561 575 796 534 237 411 292 302 532 531

Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when on regular guard duty. 561 575 [431]

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as described in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased 561 575 432 424 [778]

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Drums are used, but no whistles. 561

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men. 575

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning, "Because the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is 796 535 [534] [825]

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Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.
Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry nothing in their hands. 561 575 796 535

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes obtained from Big-brave:— 561 575 796 432

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All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each transferrer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member. Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society. 561 575

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to their homes. 796 432 [539] [535]

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferrer took a small piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of eating his food. [264]

The next day all the new members and some of the transferrers went out on a hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferrer showed them how the backbone was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony. [224] [424]

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with some variation. It opens as follows:— 561 575 539

> There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboine who saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboine once marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all. 561 575 173

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THE DOGS.

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The organization is as follows:—

The Black-Dog (1)	Old men comrades (2)
Assistant Leader (1)	Single men comrades (3–4)
The Black-dancers (2)	Pipe keeper (1)
The Dogs (40)	

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and there with feathers. 561 575 796 [292] [237]

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society had but one leader, known as the black-dog. [631] [184]

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied. According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet. [292] [531] [237] [534] 561 575 796 535 [431]

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the transfer ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he 561 575 796 432 [173]

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his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that

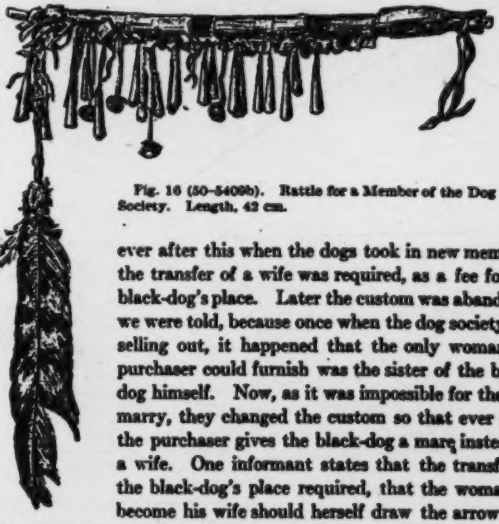

Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

561 575 796 534 237 531

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned we were told, because once when the dog society was selling out, it happened that the only woman the purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black-dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.[1]

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THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (motsomita) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote-brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two individuals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

561 575 124

[1] See also Curtis, 6, 96.

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support of this they call attention to the fact that this pair dance around through the camp at the same time and in the same manner as the other societies.

Their regalia consist of a small bulb rattle to the handle of which is attached a coyote tail and a bunch of feathers for the head. No eagle feathers were used. Bone whistles and a coyote skin around the neck complete the list. Big-brave, the present owner of one set also has a drum. This drum seems to be a special medicine object and to be used only by and in connection with the ceremonies by a brave-dog. Our informants state, however, that this drum was originated by Big-brave and was not previously a part of the regalia for the brave-dogs and is not recognized or used by the other member.

The brave-dogs usually paint the entire body in white. The face is given the "coyote painting." The entire lower part of the face is painted red. This painting was sometimes spoken of as "eating raw meat." In explanation, it is said that when a coyote has been eating, his mouth and nose are generally red with blood, and that also he is lucky and usually gets his meat whenever he looks for it.

The obligations taken on by the brave-dogs are rather exacting. They must never under any circumstances run away from the enemy or turn back. If enemies appear in their paths, they must walk straight forward regardless of the consequences. In battle they are supposed to stand in front of the enemy and dance and sing. However, if their companions desire to save them they may release them from the obligation by whipping. Thus in fighting, a friend may ride up and strike the brave-dog with a whip and at once he runs away. For example we were told that,

> Running-buffalo, the father of Elk-horn was a brave-dog. Once there was a fight between the Blackfoot and the Assiniboine in what is now the southern part of the Montana Reservation. The Assiniboine were in a hole and hard to get at. Running-buffalo rode up, got off his horse, and with his rattle in his hand, singing the brave-dog songs, went directly to the hole and jumped in among the Assiniboine. His war party followed close at his heels and succeeded in routing the enemy. All brave-dogs are believed to have great power. Once Running-buffalo was shot through the abdomen with three or four arrows. He asked that some buffalo intestines be cooked for him, saying that he would use them to replace the injured parts of his body. He ate them and recovered.

Like all other societies and medicines, the brave-dogs had their own songs and their dance. The sentiments expressed in the songs are in keeping with their obligations. For example one of them runs, "I want to throw my body away." Another "I want dogs to eat my body." They have a song in which they ask for arrows, and while singing it they go into any tipi and take an arrow from each quiver they find therein.

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The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine.

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose.

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers society and the iniskim (buffalo rock).

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:—

First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs, "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe, holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it. Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before, until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

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upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the staff is called the bee lodge.)

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, and breech cloths.

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured by a buckskin thong.

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums

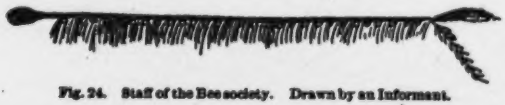

Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant.

are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader, then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and follow.

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as a rival organization.

THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken society (ke'tuki iks) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society

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old man did not dream of it, but based it upon a dance he had seen in his boyhood. 561 575 173

The origin myth is as follows:—

Once an old man saw some prairie-chickens dance. He was a trapper and set some snares in which the dancers were entangled. Afterwards he had a dream in which the oldest of the chickens appeared and said, "You have killed my children and spoiled our dance. If you do not leave us alone, I will take your children away. How would you like that. If I had but few children, I would take some of yours; but since I have many, you may keep yours."

The old chicken carried a staff like that used in the society. Then he began to dance and gave the old man directions for forming a society.

THE CROWS.

The important point in this society is that it was organized about forty-one years ago and gave its annual ceremony four times, and then ceased to meet. 561 575 It is said to have originated in the dream of a North Blackfoot boy. [787] It should not be confused with the ma'esto˙pa'takiks (raven-bearers). 561 The leader and the members wore fringed black shirts and leggings. All carried buffalo tails. 575 Their faces were painted red or yellow, with black symbols representing crow's feet. 796

There were three to four drummers who sat in the center of the dance circle. [292] [237] Near them was the skin from the head of a buffalo and upon it the head of a crow. [302] The leader held these alternately when dancing. The dances were held in the night and were very noisy, like congregated crows. [535]

A special drum was provided, painted black, and bore a picture of a crow. [534]

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

While with the Piegan, the members paint according to their rattles, [302] in this division they paint according to a definite formula, yellow on the face with transverse bars of red across the eyes and mouth. The wives of members take part as previously noted, but paint like their husbands and may at times dance in their stead. In the regular ceremonies they dance at four different points in the camp circle. Our informants mentioned the two bear members, described by the Piegan. The North Blackfoot name is ma'tse.

THE BAD-HORNS.

This was organized by a North Blackfoot man who believed he had died and visited the land of the dead. 561 He came to a place where the dead were 575 [787]

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561 575 [787] dancing. As he stood watching, the leader shook his staff at him at which he passed again into life. His name was Calf-shakes-his-head and afterward he founded the society.

561 575 796 [292] [302] The leader carries a staff about four feet long bearing fringes and hoofs throughout its length. The fringe is made from the smoky top of a tipi. One end of the staff is sharpened for planting in the ground. The costume is a very long shirt, like a woman's dress with fringes on the sides, made of smoky tipi covers. The leggings and moccasins are of the same material. White paint is spread around the eyes, and around the mouth, red with an outer border of white.

The second leader has a staff and a costume identical with the first.

[535] There is but one song. In the dance they stand fast, moving the head and shoulders only. The positions are as in other societies. All hold [534] whistles in their mouths while making the dancing movements.

There are three drums. These are laid upon the ground and not held when beaten.

The name of this society is pa^{x}ka'potskinaiye.

THE BRAVES.

[184] The organization is on the whole, similar to the corresponding society among the Piegan, but an informant gave the following exceptions:—

[292] The shirts they wear are long and reach to the feet. They are made from the smoked parts of tipis. They have a headdress that seems to be a painted cap with holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth. They have two white lances. The informant claims that formerly there were but two of these, and that later they added two more. The other features of the dance are as described by the Piegan.

SUMMARY.

561 575 184 In general it may be said that the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot divisions of the Blackfoot Indians have the same series of societies for men. The same conceptions underlie their gradations and functions and in most cases the details of organization and the names are identical. This can be interpreted in two ways: either the system was acquired before the divisions separated, or it was disseminated from one center. For a long time the Blood and Piegan have been most intimate and the Indians themselves seem to recognize greater affinity between them. Consistent with this is the close correspondence between their societies. Yet, the greater differences for the North Blackfoot occur among the societies for younger men, which as we

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WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Ma'toki.

575 Among the Blood and North Blackfoot division flourishes a woman's society known as the ma'toki. No one seemed to know of any such organization among the Piegan. The word cannot be readily translated and may be of foreign origin. Among the white people in Canada the name "buffalo
575 dance" is current.[1] The first mention of the ceremony seems to be Maxi-
796 milian's brief account:—

535 The medicine dance of the women does not occur every year. It is a medicine
[346] feast for the latter, at which, however, some men likewise appear. A large wooden hut is erected, the women dress themselves as handsomely as they can, and all wear
[292] a large feather cap. Some of the women take no part in the dance, and these, with the men, are spectators. Men beat the drum, and shake the schischikué, the last
[534] day of the feast; when the dance is finished, the buffalo park is imitated; the men, the children, and the remaining women form two diverging lines, *b* and *c*, which proceed from the medicine lodge, out of which the women creep, crawling on all-fours, and endeavour to imitate the manners of the buffalo cows. Several men represent buffalo bulls, and are at first driven back by the women; but then, as is the practice in this kind of hunting, a fire is kindled to windward, and the women, or buffalo cows, as soon as they smell the smoke, retreat into the medicine lodge, which concludes the festival. They sometimes perform this dance in the summer, when the fancy takes them.[2]

575 From Mr. Duvall's notes we take the following:—
796
346 The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended.

[422] The center pole is the ceremonial property of the leader of the ma'toki and her organization name is ma'toki-tipi-pole-owner. Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart.

When the shelter is ready the members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days.

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[1] See McClintock, 450.
Maximilian, 112, 115.

575 During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with
796 them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The
[782] faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the fore-
[302] head and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolize the tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

[346] The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the south-
[534] east. In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle (Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

[535] All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her
[292] person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake
[237] bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes
[531] its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby
[535] bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way. Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

[782] It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year, if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

796 On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession
575 and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in
535 the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

796 Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually
575 all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and
432

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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with canvas, a series of travois was fastened to the beams right around, the center pole had two pieces of calico cloth tied to it. The women sat nearest the walls, two rows deep. 575 796

The performance proper of which only a very small portion was seen (on June 19th) commenced about 6 o'clock and was said to cease at sunset. In the back, but in front of the women, sat four men in a line, who were chanting and beating their rattles. Four women crawled on their knees (not hands) to a diametrically opposite position to that of the chanters, and after the song arose and one after another touched the center pole. Then they danced in their places, moving one hand rhythmically. Their places were taken by several women wearing horn headdresses. These also danced in their places, walked a few paces to the left, and then resumed motions as before. When diametrically opposed to the singers, the touching of the center pole regularly took place. At intervals a woman seized five or six rattles, carried them near the center pole and beat them there. Two of the dancers had bone whistles, which were blown at regular intervals. [346] [535] [534]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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794 through the same performance. While dancing they all sing and some carry bells to
796 keep time. Others hold both hands on their breasts as in the stick game. No
535 drums are used. It is thought that the more the dancers exert themselves during
the dance the better will be the result of their prayers.

[534] Some members have hypnotic power. The prayers are for food, success in all
[926] undertakings, and protection against death. They pray to those who have given
them power or songs in their dreams.

[789] The origin of the dance is given in the following:—

794 A man had been ill for a long time and was not expected to recover. One time,
173 while still ill, those around him heard him try to sing and raise himself. He sup-
787 ported himself on a post, meanwhile humming. Then he returned to his bed, and said, "I have had a dream. A deer came to me and said, 'I have come to help you. I have taken pity on you. You see yonder hill. I will lead you to the top of it. Hold my windpipe, but if you pull my windpipe in two before we reach the top, you will die. If not, you will get well.' We went up the hill very slowly. When we reached the top, the deer said, 'There are four deer on yonder ridge which I will give you. When you kill them take out the windpipe and lungs of one of them as you see mine now. Be careful and do not cut them in two. Take them home and cook them and give a dance and eat them and you will be well.' That is why I got out of bed and held on to the post. I thought it was the deer." Then he said to the two men, "Go to yonder ridge and kill the four deer there. Butcher one of them as I was told in the dream and bring it to me." They returned with the deer. That night they held a dance, the black-tailed deer dance.

794 Before hunting, a deer dance is held, so they may dream where the game
[224] will be found. Sometimes the leader dances, holding a post with both
[789] hands with bells, deer hoofs or claws in one hand, and a handkerchief or skin
[796] in the other. Anyone who believes in the dance may join whether he has
[237] songs or not. Some of the regalia for the dance are: rabbit ears, deer
[824] claws and hoofs, feathers, plumes, mink skins, otterskins, sleigh bells, and
[302] deer tails, also weasel skins, owl and other feathers. Juniper is more frequently used for the smudge than sweetgrass. The members paint in red or yellow with a stripe across the forehead and one across the chin.

794 Some members have power to give ill luck and to charm game. When
789 game is killed by the members, they must not cut into the windpipe, nor give
224 the heart to the dogs. The head of deer must not be used by anyone as food,
[784] nor must children be allowed to play with it or the hoofs. The reason that these taboos must be kept is that the member may be able to charm game. When they wish to go out to hunt, they set up a stick covered with cloth about twelve inches long at the rear of the tipi and make a smudge of juniper back of it. The men sing, but must not pass between the stick and the fireplace.

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535 575 [431] In throwing away a blanket the stick is not used. Nowadays this custom is not adhered to very strongly. Only when visitors from other reservations are present are presents given. There are seven belts belonging to different members with which all the members must dance and present to the visitors whatever they can afford, horses, blankets, or money. Others relate war deeds and give away property to the visitors.

[534] There are three dance houses on the reservation. Four large drums are used in the dance but only one of these may be used at a time. These drums are made of cow hide and about the size of a bass drum. Some commercial drums are also used.

[531] The cowhide drums are painted blue and red and placed on curved sticks, decorated with beadwork. About eight men sit around the drum, each man taking his turn to sing and drum.

[292] When the women dance the singers rise to sing for them. The women dance in a circle with the men among them. Four women dance around at a time, wearing war-bonnets, all the women taking turns at wearing them. After the women have

[431] danced, the dance ends. The wearing of the bonnets brings with it the same obligations as the wearing of one of the seven belts among the men, that is, presenting gifts to visitors. The four war-bonnets are hung up at the rear of the dance house. Before the women begin to dance, four men rise, dance, and each counting four war deeds, the bonnets are given to the women.

[262] Six or eight chiefs or old warriors are chosen to eat the dog. They are seated on a blanket near the pot of dog meat and after they have finished eating, they rise and dance, each one tells four war deeds and gives presents. The man who owns the arrow or spoon rises and dips the point of the arrow into the pot of dog meat which is then ready for the dog eaters.

Nowadays, there seems to be no leader in the dance as every one wishes to be leader. There is one man who cares for the tobacco and fills the pipes for all the members; five men to do the lashing to induce the members to dance. These men give presents at the beginning of the dance thus purchasing the right to the whipping.

[681] These men dance around and lash all those who remain seated. If they should bruise anyone while doing this, they must pay the person who is hurt. Two other men have swords, or long knives, and assist the lashers. Three men act as criers, announcing when gifts are made, where the next dance is to take place, etc.

Among the women, there are two whippers. Everyone dresses and paints to suit his own fancy. Usually the dance lasts all day and half the night. Near the end of the dance the dog meat and other food is eaten. The feast is provided by those who give the dance.

[784] Should a member drop anything during the dance he must not pick it up. All the members rise and dance in a circle until someone picks up the object dropped, relates four war deeds, and returns it to its owner.

[533] There are a great many dance songs for only certain men to dance. They are: songs for those who own the whips; for those who own the swords; for the one who owns a whistle; for those who were wounded in battle; for those who eat the dogs; for the man who owns the arrow; for those who were surrounded by enemies in battle; for those who did not run when fighting; for those who take down the women's war-bonnets; for those who gave many presents; for those who wear black clothing in the scalp dance; and for those who cut the ropes when stealing horses from the enemy's camp. A closing song is sung for those who were wounded in battle and who lead all the members out of the dance house.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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535 lasting until daybreak. Sometimes people are invited to attend the dance,
272 and at others they simply come together of their own accord.
[533] There are special songs for the dance and drums are used. The dancers
[534] rise and dance in place, beating time on a dipper of tea while dancing.

The Night Singers.

533 It is an old custom among the Blackfoot for parties of young people to
883 ride about the camp at night, singing. That this is a distinct thing is evident
[492] since there is a distinct series of songs used only on such occasions. At such times they often ride double, that is two men on a single horse, or often a man and a woman. Mr. Duvall writes as follows:—

[625] These young men sometimes ride around all night and sing. Formerly, it was done to guard the camp and protect the horses from being stolen by the enemy. The singers usually go around the outer edge of the camp, making many rounds. There are usually three or four groups with three or four men in each group. Sometimes women assist the night singers.

[834] The night singers do not necessarily have to belong to any society but anyone may join them. This custom is kept up nowadays only during the sun dance. It is not understood as good form for the women or girls to go out with the night singers. Although a great many of the grass dance songs are sung, there are special songs also. The singing is usually continued until daylight. At the end of each song they usually shout and keep time with sleigh bells when singing. They are never ordered to sing at the present time.

The Begging Dance.

535 The Piegan name for this dance is "those that dance around camp for a
276 smoke." The members do not belong to a society, but a number of men,
[533] six or twelve, or sometimes more, go to some tipi and sing and shake their
[534] bells. This may be done at any time of the night. The owner of the tipi
[431] fills a pipe and lets them smoke, gives them some food, a blanket, clothing, a horse, or money. The presents are divided up among the men. The owner of the tipi seldom knows who the men are. They repeat this at four tipis and then disband. Several groups of these men may go around at the
[556] same time, but they never stop at the same tipi. Usually, the men stop at the tipi of a chief or head man as they are more sure of getting a smoke, for it adds to one's prestige to be generous with presents, feasts, etc.

[pp. 461-986 not processed]

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A woman of the sacred Motokiks society, wearing the special headdress of buffalo horns and feathers that was her society insignia. She has an eagle-bone whistle in her mouth, which was blown during the society dances. Her name was Makah, or Shorty, and she was the sister of my great-grandfather Heavy Head. (PHOTO: EDWARD S. CURTIS, GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION)

[551]

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Recent leaders of the sacred Sun Dance ceremony, inside their sacred tipi, among the North Piegan division of the Blackfoot Nation. At the left is the Blood holy woman, Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, who was initiating a new holy woman, Josephine Crow Shoe (Nez-Perce-Woman), seated next to her. In the center is Josephine's husband, Joe, and next to him is Mike Swims Under, who was helping the widowed Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door to initiate the new couple. Next to him is my husband, Adolf, who had the honor to serve as the ceremonial assistant. In front of him lie rawhide rattles used to accompany the many sacred songs which must be sung for this ceremony. Between the two men lies the sacred Natoas bundle, which has already been taken down from its hanging place on a tipi pole, at the rear. After more singing and ceremony the bundle was unwrapped and the sacred headdress brought out, put together, and placed on the new holy woman. (PHOTO: BEVERLY HUNGRY WOLF) *Below,* the old and the new: In a camp of tipis, canvas-wall tents, and modern camping tents, an old woman fixes her meals in the ancient manner, over an outdoor fire. (PHOTO: ADOLF HUNGRY WOLF)

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tainer to serve with her meals later. For a kid's treat I got to scrape out some of this grease to eat right on the spot. I would use a willow stick with the bark peeled off. I chewed on one end until it looked like an old paintbrush, and I sucked the fat off the part that was like the bristles. My grandmother would boil the bones afterward for quite a while. The fat that came out was skimmed off and put in a special container. It turned into something like hard lard.

My grandmother mixed wild mint in with the fat and dried meat, when she packed it into her rawhide parfleches for storage. She would gather the mint in summer and fall and hang it up to dry. Then she crumbled the leaves away from the stems, and she put these leaves right in with the fat and the meat. She would close up the bags tight, and the mint would keep the bugs out and also keep the fat from spoiling.

The hooves were boiled down until all the gristle in them was soft. My grandmother would save the animal's legs for this. She would tie them together and hang them in a tree, outside. Sometimes she kept them like that for quite a while, even in hot weather, before she boiled them. I don't recall flies bothering them. When she was ready to boil the hooves she would cut the legs in half and tried to get off as much hair as possible. Then she'd boil them all day. The way I remember those boiled hooves, there was hardly anything worth eating on them. But my grandparents liked them. Maybe it was their memories of the old days, when hunger forced them to use such articles now and then. They saved the boiled hooves to use for rattles on tipi doors, and so forth Those were the old-time version of bells, which they later got from traders. They could be cut and shaped while they were still soft from boiling. Later they dried up hard again.

If the animal was butchered at home by my grandmother, she always used the blood too. A favorite meal was to take about a cup full of blood with a saucerful of flour. This mix-

within the tipi where the Bundle is kept. Peace and quiet should be maintained around such a tipi at all times. If someone calls from outside and does not come in, we must step outside to speak with him. Mokakin, himself a former Medicine Pipe Owner, was well aware of this rule. 778 784

"Oki, OmachKinna," I said to him, as he came through the doorway. I used a standard greeting of respect to an older man. 576 574

"Oki, Natosina ki SikskiAki," said Mokakin in return. He glanced around our tipi and said, "It's all fixed up now," giving an approving nod, then shaking his head to the side with pleasure. We felt happy and proud that our traditional Ways gladdened the old man's thoughts.

"Do you have time to sit and have a smoke and some tea?" I asked hesitantly. I knew that Mokakin was already serving as advisor, as grandfather, to the soon-to-be Horns. I wasn't sure how long he had for a visit with us.

No sooner had I asked the question than we heard Ponah's strong voice call out, "PitachPikis!" And for insurance she followed with, "Mokakin!" Knowing that there would be no excuse for not hearing his wife call at least one of his names, he apologetically mumbled something and hurried out. One of the future members of the Horns was probably waiting to be advised on some ceremonial matter. We knew that Mokakin would spend as much time at our place as he could, and we looked forward to his later visits.

Behind Mokakin's and Ponah's tipi was the tipi of their son, Charlie Weaselhead. His parents had given him the new white tipi to honor his joining the Horns Society. His joining meant a lot to them. They had been members in the past. 575 561 [431]

While sitting quietly in our tipi, we suddenly became aware of a gathering of voices, soon followed by a few beats on a large bass drum. The camp was about to be entertained by "tobacco singers," a group of friends who sit before the door of a lodge and sing until the lodge owner 533 [534] [431]

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Wolf Old Man as head Weather Dancer during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. He is holding an eagle-wing fan and sprigs of Creeping Juniper, the Sun Dance incense. He is blowing on an eagle bone whistle to keep time to his dancing and the drumming and singing. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.14-B]

boughs. At 1 p.m. the Lodge was quite completed and quietness reigned in the camp, broken only by the occasional shouting of some chief calling guests to a feast, or a caller assembling the members of some fraternity. 796 346 [203]

With the completion of the Holy Lodge, the participants returned to their own lodges to await the next ceremony which was, in effect, the start of the second half of the Okan. The first four days had led up to the construction of it; the last three or four days were taken up with ceremonies within it. 796

The next part of the Okan began when two men came out of their lodges wearing sacred dress and carrying fans of eagle wings and boughs of creeping juniper. Four old men came behind them with hand drums, singing a sacred song. The two men, known as the Weather Dancers, danced forward to the rhythm of the song, at the same time blowing on whistles of eagle bone, which stuck from their mouths. [237] [924] [533] [534] [237]

The Weather Dancers are the priests for the activities that take place inside the Medicine Lodge. The People placed their spiritual faith in these men, who were considered to have Power to attract good weather to the encampment. It was up to the Weather Dancers to decide how many more days the Okan ceremonies would continue, and they would remain within the Medicine Lodge throughout that time to fast, pray, and dance. It is as a result of their duties that the Okan is often referred to as a Sun Dance. 796 791 [789] [787]

The only clothing the Weather Dancers usually wore were moccasins and breechcloths. They painted their bodies with designs shown to them in dreams or given by some previous dancer. Around their heads and wrists they wore wreaths of creeping juniper boughs, and eagle bone whistles hung from thongs around their necks. On their backs they sometimes wore white robes, pinned together in front of their necks. They tried to concentrate their thoughts on the Holy Power that Sun passes on to all the creatures on Earth. 796 791 292 [302] [787] [924] [237] [534]

Power that Sun passes on to all the creatures on Earth. 796 791

On their way to the Medicine Lodge, the Weather Dancers made four stops. At each stop they intensified their holy thoughts and danced more vigorously, while the drumming and singing continued behind them. The People stood quietly before their tipis, watching the brightly colored dancers make their way around the north side of the Medicine Lodge and then enter through the large opening on the east side of the cottonwood boughs. [535]

The Weather Dancers entered this sacred booth and sat down, facing the Center Pole and the entrance of the Holy Lodge at the east. The holy people followed and sat down on their robes at the northwest side. The drummers sat on logs at the southwest side and were soon joined by several old men who knew the ceremonial songs. People approached the Holy Lodge to see inside, so that the entrance was blocked. Others found places around the outside where they could look through.

According to our Old Man, who was a young boy at the 1892 Okan, the head Weather Dancer was Ki-soum, or Sun, still remembered as one of our finest holy men. Wilson often refers to this man by the name Moon. The other was a former Weather Dancer who had vowed to help Ki-soum. Among the small bundle of things Ki-soum had brought into the Weather Dancers' booth was a black-bowled pipe. He filled the pipe with sacred tobacco and handed it to the drummer nearest the booth. The drummer raised the stem, prayed for the spiritual success of the People, lit the pipe, and passed it among the other drummers to smoke. It was then passed into the booth, where the Weather Dancers smoked quietly. [276] [778] [782]

When the pipe was smoked out, Ki-soum signaled the drummers, who began to drum and sing a Weather Dancers song. The Weather Dancers placed their bone whistles between their lips and stood up. Raising their heads so they [533] [534] [535]

could see the top of the sacred Pole, they blew on their whistles with short blasts while they bounced up and down with the drum beats. 796 791

Before them[A] was the center of the Earth, marked by the sacred Center Pole. From Earth it reached to the heavens above, symbolically connecting the two into one Universe. The bright colors of the many offerings fluttered at the top of the Center Pole, marking the place where Sky and Earth met. The fork joint represented that all the directions in the Universe are joined together by the Great Spirit to make One. The prayers of the Above Spirits were represented by Wind, which could be heard all around; the prayers of the Earth Spirits were represented by the rustling of the green leaves on the cottonwood boughs. [533] [534] [535] 796 772

"Cheep—cheep—cheep—cheep," sounded the eagle bone whistles as the Weather Dancers rocked on the balls of their feet, accompanied by the rhythm of the drumming and chanting. If a cloud threatened to hide Sun's light, the intensity of the dancing and music increased until the cloud passed out of sight. 791 796 535 789

I believe in this Power of Universal Harmony, for I experienced it myself during the Piegan Medicine Lodge celebration of 1972. The former Weather Dancer, an old man named Makes Summer, taught me the way to use spiritual power passed on from the long ago. As dark rain clouds threatened overhead, the singing and dancing became more and more intense. The clouds finally separated and Sun shined brightly until the ceremony was over; not until then did it begin to rain. No one remembers a Medicine Lodge ceremony that was ever disturbed by rain. [123]

Wilson brought his notebook and joined the crowd around the Holy Lodge: 796 431

A,[i.e., the Weather Dancers--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35-A]

[p. 35-A]

Late in the afternoon those members of the 796
Pigeon Society [who were able to relate personal 431
exploits of bravery] formed a line, standing. Two [575]
of them rode a single horse; the others were all [555]
dismounted. They began to sing and approached
the A-Kax and entered, then took a position in
two rows; the riders rode their horses once com-
pletely around the enclosure, passing at the back
between the banner [Weather Dancers' booth]
and centre pole. Four Tom-toms [hand drums] [534]●
and the same number of rattles were obtained for
music. While the Pigeons danced and sang, rela-
tives brought in piles of goods which were de-
posited at the feet of the dancer related to the
giver. These presents were all gathered up by an
old man and distributed to other people. Eagle
Ribs [the uncle of our Mokakin] was taken by
the arm and led out to the centre and left stand-
ing there. Pails of food were now brought in; gen-
erally a row of 4 or more pails were strung upon a
stick and carried in by two squaws, each taking an
end of the stick. Squaws [a foreign word to us, [601]
even though Wilson uses it often; a man calls his
wife Aki, "woman," or Nitokeman, "my wife"]
always put down the pails, and either left the
enclosure or joined the crowd of women at the
south and near the entrance. The food was dis-
tributed to all the people who had seated them-
selves inside, with bowls in front of them. Next [276]
pipes were filled, presented to an old man, blessed
and smoked. They then danced three times with-
out changing their positions in rows. Bob Tailed [192]
Chief [then a young member of the Pigeon So-
ciety—he later became one of our holy leaders]
went and placed a stick at the feet of an old man,
which meant that he had given him a horse, at
which the old man stood up and made a long
blessing over the liberal young man, whose wife
came forward and shared it with him. A 4th dance
was indulged in at close of which they danced out.
Time was 8:10.

The Pigeon Society was composed of young 575
men who had few exploits to their record, and so 561
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[p. 36-A]

ing the 1892 Okan, the agents sent word to the People that participants in self-torture would henceforth be jailed. They aroused outside backing for their move by calling the ceremonies "heathen rituals." The missionaries hoped that this ban would lead to an end of the Medicine Lodge ceremony itself. However, Medicine Lodges continued to be built. Self-torture vows were carried out in places that were not so public.

In writing and with his camera, Wilson recorded the details of the last ceremonies to fulfill self-torture vows:

Next day nothing occurred until afternoon, when some members of two Societies, "Crazys" [Wilson's own name for the Crazy Dogs, who were not actually crazy in any way] and "Black Soldiers," came out of their rows. At this, Sitting Bull's son entered in the paint garb of the "self-torture" as follows: no clothing except breach cloth and a blanket wrapped about him. A wreath of wild sage about the head, a ring of same about each arm and ankle. Painted with white dirt from head to foot. He sat down upon his blanket and presently some one placed a pillow and quilt on the ground upon which he laid down. A man assisted by others put a skewer in each breast and a 3rd [behind] one shoulder. When he arose to his feet a shield was fastened to the skewer in the back and the ropes from top of centre pole, to the others [on his breasts]. He walked up and embraced the centre pole and silently prayed. Then [he] went back until the ropes tightened and, reaching around behind, grasped the shield, tore it from his flesh with a jerk and cast it upon the ground. Giving a yell, he next caught hold of one of the ropes in each hand and gave them a couple of good jerks which pulled the skin out from his breast several inches each jerk. Then he threw back his full weight upon the ropes, having first inserted a whistle in his mouth, the string of it depending from around the neck. The drums started up and the boy danced in time to their

the ropes and jerked them hard twice. Then he told me, "Now you go to the Center Pole and pray that your vow will come true." I walked up there. I knew I was supposed to pretend to cry. But oh! I really cried. It hurt so much. Coming back from the Center Pole I was shouting. Then, before I started to dance, I jerked the shield off my back.

I leaned back and began dancing, facing the Center Pole. It felt just like the Center Pole was pulling me toward it. I began to dance from the

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Heavy Head, around 1940, carrying his Crazy Dogs Society Rattle, and wearing one of the last weasel-tail shirts to have been made and transferred among the Bloods.

[p. 43-B]

built. The young Horns got their saddle ponies and rode down to the river. They gathered one hundred rocks. The rocks were smaller than a folded fist. White flint rocks and sand rocks were not taken. They picked all ordinary rocks. About noon the riders were heard returning, singing plainly. There were no women among the riders. The riders paraded around the inside of the camp circle. They all dismounted at the Holy Lodge tipi and their horses were led away. 796 346 575

The sweat lodge was constructed. There are one hundred willows to a holy sweat lodge. The entrance is on the east side and the exit is on the west side, just like the daily path of Sun. The fifty willows on the south side were colored with real paint [red earth] and the other fifty willows were colored with black paint. The real paint represents the day; the black paint represents the night. The buffalo hides used to cover the sweat lodge were also colored, the hides on the south side with real paint, the hides on the north side with black paint. In recent years the willows and the canvases are not colored anymore. 796 346 [824] [531] [822] [237] [531]

In legends of the long-ago, only one rock was used in the sweat lodge. Lately, one hundred rocks were used. In this sweat lodge the rocks were not heated red hot. It was a sweat lodge just to reinforce the spiritual powers.

The buffalo skull, which is offered to Sun, was laid on a small pile of dirt that had been scooped out from a hole inside the sweat lodge. It is different with the Crow Indians, who put their buffalo skulls by the Center Pole. Buffalo skulls are no longer left out as offerings. They are put away for use in the next Sun Dance. [237] [182] [171]

The night after the sweat lodge ceremonies, the Horns Society members were painted and the next morning they cut down the Center Pole. There were four singers, each with hand drums, which were invented by that time. The Center Pole was cut down, and as it was hauled to the center of the camp circle, the Horns Society members rode on it. A woman member was ap- 796 346 575 [533] [534]

pointed to follow behind. The singers beat their drums as the procession moved along. 796 346

Many Kill was sitting out in the shade by her tipi. The People brought to her their offerings and pipes. After they unloaded the Center Pole, the Horns Society members brought forward to Many Kill their payments for the Natoas transferral. They carried dry goods in their arms and each led a horse to the transferral. 575 796 778 793 432

The People tied tipi poles together, approximately a foot down from the top. Every separate band came forward, singing a song with no words. The People all jumped into the Holy Lodge. Heavy Shield sat on the Center Pole. He had on a black robe and his face was painted black. He was blowing on his whistle. As the Center Pole started to raise, he jumped down, leaving his robe on the Center Pole. That is the custom. 346 796 [533] [292] [302] [534]●

The Center Pole was raised. Some blew their whistles while others shot their guns into the air. Everybody helped set the Pole upright and the seven rafter poles in place. Two orderlies wearing crow-feather headpieces brought in the hide to tie the rafter poles and cross beams. The People got their horses again and rode down to the river to cut young trees to cover the sides of the circular structure of the Holy Lodge. Some riders attached stirrup-cover decorations. Some wore fur chaps, even though it was a hot day. Some men had on facial war paintings. The People sang a song with no words. [292] [237] [302] [533]

The riders were shooting and shouting. They came back through the east entrance, paraded once around the inside of the camp circle, and then they galloped to the Holy Lodge. Some were bucked off on the way—the horses shy at the trees dragged by the riders. They raced to the Holy Lodge as a reenactment of the time when the Plains Indians rode into enemy camps at full speed.

The trees were set up against the cross beams of the Holy Lodge. Then the riders went home and turned loose their horses.

[p.47-B]

It was a serenade song. The voices came closer, passing by our part of the camp circle. The singers, four young men riding on three horses (two of the singers doubling up on one horse), ended one song with short, jovial shouts, and began another. 533 [492]

This was a treat to hear, as most young people today don't know the old serenade songs from the past. Long ago, several groups of serenade singers would go around the camp circle every night, in the days when camp circles had a circumference of a mile or more. Young people would tie strings of sleigh bells to their horses to add background music to their singing. Groups of young men usually sang together, sometimes doubling up on one horse. Married couples often rode the same way. Single men would ride alone, singing love songs with code words so that their sweethearts, bound by tradition to stay inside at night, would know the songs were for them. [178] [361] [534] [492]

The young men singing on this night continued until morning. Blankets drawn over their heads protected them against the wind. In between songs they talked and laughed quietly. During the night I woke up, and heard them still singing, talking, laughing, and their horses' hooves thudding. [291]

342
532
778

Tough Bread with his wife and their Yellow-Otter-Flag Tipi, in the Blood camp of 1891. The Otter Flag can be seen over the top of the lodge poles. (R. N. Wilson)

778
The sacred Bundle for an Otter-Flag Tipi contains an otter skin and one or more other animal skins. Bells are suspended from the nose, feet, and tail of the flag itself, although in the past dried deer hooves were used instead of bells. Bands of quillwork or beadwork decorate the neck, paws, and tail, and brass shoe-buttons are sewn on for eyes. The Otter Flag itself is kept in a rawhide case for most of the year. The case is hung out behind the tipi in the daytime, and

[531]
[237]
[534]
[415]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 72-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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432
534

George First Rider sings one of the Otter Tipi Flag songs for the benefit of the Provincial Museum, which paid him for his help. Next to him is Tom Morning Owl, who sold the sacred flag to the Museum. (Alberta Provincial Archives)

[p.71.C]

taken inside at night. During ceremonies such as the Sun Dance, the Bundle is opened and the flag tied to an extra-long tipi pole so that it hangs high above the doorway. As it waves in the air, the bells jingle, reminding everyone of its presence. Two of the Otter Tipis last summer had Otter Flags flying above their doorways. One belonged to the family of Many Grey Horses, who also owns a Medicine Pipe Bundle. The other one belonged to an old lady named Mrs. White Man Left. The transfer ceremony for an Otter-Flag Tipi used to be very involved and took four days to complete.

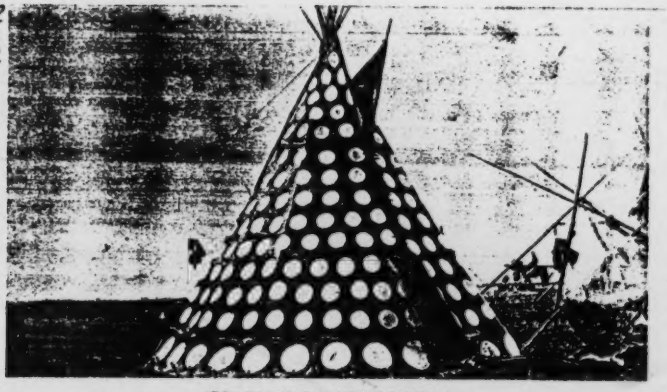
OTHER PAINTED TIPI DESIGNS

Let me explain some of the spiritual meanings of tipi designs. Basically, the painting on a tipi is divided into three sections: the band of symbols around the bottom represents Earth; the large area in the center represents Universe; and the section at the top represents Sky.

The bottom band is generally painted black, brown, or red, to represent the color of the Earth, or else it is painted green to represent the grasses and trees. Within this band are usually two rows of discs representing the puffballs that cover the prairies, considered to be the remains of fallen stars. This bottom band can be straight and flat, for the flatness of the plains; topped by semi-circles, for the rolling hills; or pointed, for the mountains. In the back, directly opposite the entrance, the bottom band often rises in large square or oval projection, representing the entrance to the animal's den the original owner went to for his dream. In a few cases this large design represents the boulders on which buffalo like to rub themselves when out on the prairie.

The large, central area on the tipi cover usually symbolizes the universe in general, and can also represent the particular element in which the dream animal or bird lives. It is here that the major tipi motifs are depicted. The male symbols

342
822
532



All-Star Painted Lodge in 1891. (R. N. Wilson)

Antelope Painted Lodge in the Blood Camp in 1891. The background color of this lodge was yellow, to represent the antelope's sandy prairie environment. The stripe around the bottom represents the open plains. At the top is Night Sky with a crescent Moon. The door flap of this tipi was an antelope hide, and dried antelope hooves were strung up and fastened to the smoke flaps and over the doorway, to rattle in the wind. An antelope fawn skin was used as a flag. The tipi's special incense was sweet grass mixed with dried antelope droppings. The figure on the back of the tipi represents its Owner. In one hand he is holding an offering to Sun, and in the other a pipe. The lodge is the home of a distinguished man, because it sits farther inside the camp circle than the others. (R. N. Wilson)

[237]
[531]
[361]
[554]

My wife had the 3rd dream a year or so later and in this dream the man came up to her and said, "They have done a horrible thing to me. They have laid me out in the open glass case so that people will come in and look at me, and my altar is left standing. Nobody comes to burn sweetgrass any more; and where I am sitting is not holy. Why did they take me away from my own country? It was my home; it is where I originated. It is where I wanted to be until the end." 778 787 114

My wife had the 4th dream a few months ago. In this dream the man came to her with you, and my wife saw the case with the Long Stem Pipe on display. The man said to her, pointing at you, "This is the man that took me. He must be very kind to me and if it so happened that somebody came and asked for me he must not refuse to let me go. I am left uncovered and that is what is making me very sad."

I am very surprised that my wife has had this dream because we never did own the Long Time Pipe. It must be very important or why should she keep having this dream? But it must be because we really believe in this religion and we live accordingly.

So we have come to offer this blanket so that you can take it to Edmonton on your next trip and cover the Long Time Pipe with it. We would be very happy if you would say a few prayers for us and tell the bundle that we have given the blanket as a sacrifice to it. [782]

I bought this blanket in the U.S. and it is the same type that is always used to cover Medicine Pipes.

Mr. Many Grey Horses was undecided as to whether we should take off the old blanket that covers the pipe and give it to him but Mrs. Many Grey Horses said no. She said to place the new blanket over the old one as it was obvious as a result of her dream that one covering was not sufficient.

Mr. Many Grey Horses owns the 4 original drums of the Long Time Medicine Pipe Bundle. When John Red Crane had the Long Time Pipe bundle transferred to him from Stephen Fox he refused the transfer of the drums. Since the 778 534 432 114

[p. 87-A]

Bundle then had no drums, his friend, Frank Cotton's father, gave him 2 drums and Red Crane's father gave him 2 drums. These drums are not part of the Bundle. 778 534 432

Stephen Fox, who owned the Long Time Medicine Pipe before John Red Crane, still had the original drums, and after the transfer to Red Crane, when Red Crane refused the drums, he consulted Many Grey Horses as to what should be done with the drums since Red Crane had refused them. Many Grey Horses then purchased the drums from Stephen Fox. 114

Many Grey Horses explained why some people will not attend the transfer ceremonies sponsored by the Provincial Museum. He said that they believe that the ceremony is holy and that the tape recorder is receiving the prayers and not the Creator. He said that when the bundle is taken down the shaman [Medicine Man] smears blood clots all over his body and then takes the bundle down. He then stands and prays for the owner of the bundle, but the tape recorder is "sucking all the prayers" and the owner of the bundle who is being prayed for does not get the full benefit of the prayers and that is not right. 796 432 778 782 784 114 [302]

Three years later, in the spring of 1972, SikskiAki and I, with a group of our Old People, visited the Provincial Museum. Upon seeing our ancient Pipe the Old People were moved, but were also dismayed to see it hanging open inside a glass case. The Bundle was not closed and the donated blanket not only was not covering it, it wasn't even there. Museum officials unlocked the case so that we could pray with the Bundle and leave offerings of tobacco in it. Then we asked them to close the Bundle and remove it from display. While they debated our request, they showed us the film of the Bundle's ceremony. Before we left, the museum people assured us that it would no longer be left lying open and that they were prepared to bring the Bundle back to our reserve for a ceremony at any time. This latter assurance was a surprise, because the white-man 778 177 114 [782]

[p. 87-B]

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

cupied in singing and smoking. The dances are usually held upon the day following the appearance of the new moon, but I have known many to be postponed for different reasons. The tom-tom is not used, rattles and whistles are the musical instruments. 796 778 [534]

Early in the morning the i-o-kinu sends out a boy or girl, or some member of his household, to invite whoever he wishes to be present. These are generally old and middle-aged men, some of whom bring their wives. At the date of writing I have attended three "moon dances" and remained to the end of each, with book and pencil in hand taking notes from which I hope to faithfully describe what took place and to give as many explanations as I have been able to obtain from the performers. Two of the ceremonies which I have witnessed took place in the home of Running Wolf, one in his house and one in his lodge. The third dance was conducted by Running Wolf in the house of Three Bulls, another I-O-Kunt who assisted. Running Wolf is considered the most proficient of this class in this tribe, but he has a superior in the person of the Blackfoot [North Blackfoot] "Owl Child" who was master of ceremonies upon the occasion that I saw the dance in Running Wolf's lodge. This superiority consists simply in a good memory [Wilson had a tendency to draw conclusions from outward appearances, not from deep understanding]; 1st in being able to lead their peculiar ritual all day long without making errors, and 2nd, in being able to begin without delay each song in its correct place. When we remember the length of time the I-O-Keeme sings, and that the songs are about one hundred in number, nearly all of which are never used upon any other occasions than "moon dances," the use of a good memory is evident. [It is likely that only one hundred songs were sung at the ceremonies witnessed by Wilson. Even old White Calf did not know all the songs. However, due to some taboo, Beaver Men never allowed anyone to count the songs; if they saw someone 793 796 778 [114] 793 796 778 533 [784]

[p. 91-A]

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

the songs were started while all the singers placed 796
ends of their fingers to the floor. [These songs 778
referred to our Earth Mother.] A man took the 533
forked stick and brought a coal from the fire to
the altar upon which incense was then made with [824]
sweet-grass. A song in the meantime being sung.
Gesture in this was shading the eyes with hands, [201]
and searching for something on the ground. [This
gesture illustrated the words in one of the open-
ing songs, in which the Beaver says, "When
spring comes I look outside, and if I see any
enemies I dive back down under the water."]
Running Wolf ended that song with a prayer. [782]

Singing was at once renewed. R Wolf and
Three Bulls' wife, who were the persons nearest
to the bundle, now turned in their seats towards
it. The woman took up the bundle and held it up
a foot or so from the cushion and towards the
altar; it being rather heavy she was assisted by the
woman next to her. R Wolf took up a roll of raw [237]
hides and rattles and held them also towards the [534]
altar. Three Bulls held up a bag containing rattles
and then several songs were sung at conclusions as
the articles were set down again. After another
song Three Bulls' wife unrolled the bundle, while
the men spread a tanned beef hide on the floor,
hair side down. . . . Continuing his songs, Run-
ning Wolf took the bag of rattles and distributed
them to the musicians. [A special rawhide was
spread over the tanned hide. The rattles from the
Bundle may be beaten only on this rawhide.]

In next song, each musician took up one [825]
rattle and held it with handle resting on floor, and
ended the song by imitating the caw of the
crow. . . .

3 songs came next, rattle held as before; at
end of each song they cawed, struck the upturned
bottom of rattle with ends of fingers of right
hand, thus mimicking very nicely the picking and
cawing of the crow. Next was a song during which
they all took up rattles and beat slowly a few
times on the hides in front of them and ended
the song by striking some quick and strong blows,

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

at the same time yelling in low voices. [More songs.] The two wives of the priests took a bundle of sticks from the sacred bundle and swung them to and from the altar, keeping time. [The cawing and pecking were actually imitations of ravens, not crows. The rattles were usually made either from buffalo rawhide or from scrotums of buffalo. While pecking on the rattles of buffalo skin, the ravens sang, "The wind is our Medicine—Powerful dead buffalo we want," referring to the buffalo carcasses ravens feasted upon after hunters finished butchering them. When the singers first took up the rattles and beat them on the rawhide, they sang, "My rattles are Powerful." The sticks the women took were probably extra incense tongs, which were kept with every Beaver Bundle.] 796 778 533 [825] [534] [237]

In fourth song the two squaws got up and danced around the room, one holding a root digger, a stick sharpened at one end and one edge; this was painted red as were all the implements. Whistles were produced and tooted during the following songs. After three more were sung, Running Wolf took a pipe-stem and got down upon his knees and bobbed about in which performance he was soon joined by his wife and Three Bulls' wife. With their blankets drawn up around their heads, they kept up those singular antics, working their hands in imitation of the beaver. That ended by all three people, 3 times lowering their heads to the sacred bundle and grunting several times, and then they took hold of the outside covers and shook them as if to frighten away a spirit. During all this time, "Moons" wife, who is a great wag, was cracking jokes and making fun of almost every movement of Running Wolf. [This part of the ceremony, taken with light spirit, often evokes laughter when the Old People leading the ceremony try to imitate small animals at work. The amount of fun-making at our holy ceremonies would probably amaze a visitor. But our ceremonies are meant to bring happiness and harmony, not gloominess and 796 778 [535] [412] [531] [534] [533] [825] [522] 796 778 781

[p.93-B]

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

quite still with eyes closed searching his mind for the tune. I saw him in this perplexity cause an old man to bring a coal of fire to the altar upon which he [Running Wolf] made incense and then passed his hands through the smoke and to his head. . . . After a delay of 5 minutes his wife found the song and hummed it for him, at which he at once remembered it all and went on. . . . He and 3 Bulls took the floor dancing and whistling; one holding a pipe-stem, the other a buffalo's tail. These articles they would exchange with each other from time to time throughout the dance. They danced around to the altar and finished by handing the pipe-stem to 2 Bulls, who put it to his lips and prayed and then handed it to R Wolf. . . . And thus it was passed around the house from right to left, each person as he or she received it prayed with the mouthpiece to the lips. It took 20 minutes to complete this circle, the music was renewed as soon as the pipe reached the women, at end of which incense was made again. When the pipe-stem returned to the woman who had started it, she gave up a long prayer and laid it in its place. 796 778 [533] [535] [276] [237] [782] [782]

Many of the Indians prayed at me although not to me of course; they wished their diety to give me a better heart, to make me more liberal; some prayed that they and I should always be as good friends as in the past. R Wolf held up the front of the hide covering the bundle to hide his actions from view and soon the sound of a bull keeping time with the rattles was heard. At 3:30 R Wolf, after 10 minutes of antics such as poking up the nose or head of the animal, exposed the article he had been hiding, which was a large otter skin decorated with a scalp tied to the nose, and bells upon the legs. The head was only stuffed. This object he lifted up and rising to his feet danced around the room to the women and handed it to them. She prayed as usual and set it in place. Running Wolf returned and went through the same performance with a large dried Beaver skin with tail and claws on. [782] [825] [237] [531] [534] [782] [237]

During the next song the two women got 000

[p.95-B]

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

passed around and prayed to by all. . . . Incense 796
. . . . The common pipe was filled and handed to 778
Front Horn who pointed the stem to the Sun [782]
and made an elaborate prayer. . . . Incense. . . .
Then came a song in which the rattles were used [533]
in a different manner. Each musician held up one [534]
above his head at arms length, shaking to keep [825]
time; then, all were lowered with handles touch-
ing the floor and the cawing of crows imitated.
Incense. . . . The event next in order was a feast [252]
of boiled rice which was handed around and [262]
eaten without prayers or offering [because it did
not represent a traditional food]. . . . Incense
. . . numerous songs and prayers. . . . Tea was [272]
given out in cups, bowls, and tin pans; the squaws [415]
continued dancing. A rattle, made by stringing a 796
number of buffalo toes to a stick by means of 778
holes bored in the points of the toes and leather 535
streamers through the holes, was thrown by Run- [534]
ning Wolf into the lap of one of the dancing [237]
women. The dancer was free to throw it to any-
one, who then must get up and dance with it,
and, in turn, throw it to some other person, al-
ways of the opposite sex. The woman threw it to
"Mōon," who got up, and after dancing around a
few times, threw it to Running Wolf's wife, who
responded and danced near me and threw the
rattle to me. Not caring to join the festivities to
such an extent, I threw it to an Indian near me,
who took the floor and threw the rattle to the
woman who had it first, who, in turn, deposited it
on the knees of Spotted Bull, who was still danc-
ing with it when music stopped, which seemed to
cause much merriment. Incense 7:25. Song and 796
prayer by R Wolf. More songs and dance by 778
woman. Each rattler, holding up a single rattle, all [533]
sang the closing songs from 7:30 to 7:35. Two [535]
women faced the door and danced during these
songs; at the 4th part, the door was thrown open [534]
and they danced out. The musicians knocked
rattles together in the air to close off the last song.

[p. 96-B]

Blackfoot Beaver Bundle and auxiliary bundle. 778
The "auxiliary bundle" is actually a set of bags containing accessories used during the ceremony. We do not consider this a "Bundle."

Here is the list of what she found in the main Blackfoot Bundle:

Outer wrapping—red painted skin. Inner wrapping—buffalo hide. Thong for tying bundle. "Buffalo rock" [Iniskim]. Buffalo skin wrap for rock. Buffalo rib. 4 sticks about 10 inches long. 6 bladder bags tied together. 32 bird and animal skins. Awl. Bladder bag (inside of animal skin). Bladder bag (inside of same skin), contains— Sandstone pipe bowl. Beaded fur charm (inside of same skin). [237] [412] [276]

And in the "auxiliary bundle":

Nez Perce bag [the large, walletlike bags woven from corn husk strands by the Nez Perce People, obtained by trade and long-favored for holding rattles and other accessories of Beaver Bundles]. 11 rawhide rattles. Rattle of thong-tied Elk hooves. 8 smooth sticks, 8 inches long. 2 braids of sweetgrass. 2 skin bags tied together, red paint and black paint. Skin bag, containing two buffalo rocks. Feather and weazel-trimmed pipe stem in red "stroud" [coarse blanket] case. Long slender stick. Piece of broomstick in red stroud case [to replace a missing second sacred Pipe]. Rectangle of painted raw-hide. [439] [534] [237] [824] [276]

The missing Pipestem might have been worn out, broken, lost, stolen, or buried with a previous Owner. In the Old Days the missing Stem would have been remade. That only thirty-two skins were left with the main Bundle in 1939 gives some indication that Beaver Bundles were then no longer kept up. Long ago, many more skins would have been included. It is possible that the missing skins were not replaced because their songs had been forgotten, making them unneces- 778 178

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302
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[R 100-B]

Calling Last dancing with the sacred Pipe from his Beaver Bundle. He is blowing on the eaglebone whistle in time to his dancing. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

[Contents of a Motokiks Bundle]

one unused clam shell and one clam shell used to mix green paint in, along with a mixing stick, all wrapped in a bladder and kept inside a small bag of cheesecloth. 575 778 [237]

one buffalo skin bag of sacred red paint, wrapped in a piece of canvas and tied with a thong.

a bundle of sweetgrass braids wrapped in calico cloth. [824]

a large bundle with calico cloth around it, containing the headdress parts, which were only assembled when it was used; the parts included the snake, made of stuffed, yellow-painted buckskin with a zigzag line beaded along its body, beads and bells to be attached at several points, and three plumes, consisting of many small feathers attached to three main shafts, to be attached to the snake to complete the headdress. [292] [237] [531]

a batch of small feathers, some red and some natural white, in a paper wrapping. [237]

a bone whistle, also kept inside this part of the Bundle, each member wearing such a whistle during the ceremony. [534]

The main Bundle also contained a "loose bead trimmed pendant"; a tiny cloth bag, inside of which was a bladder filled with some kind of roots; and a small "accessory" bundle of paint bags, more roots and painting shells, and some ancient cloth and scarf wrappings. [237]

Robert Wilson was probably the first person to photograph members of the Motokiks wearing their headdresses and putting up their lodge. In those days, the lodge was still constructed with a framework of travois. To accompany Wilson's photographs of 1892 scenes, let us read some excerpts from the 1905 notes of David Duvall, a South Piegan man who collected traditional information for the anthropologist Clark Wissler. These notes are now in the American Museum of Natural History. Duvall got most of his information from an old member who was the wife of Heavy Runner. 575 127

[p. 112-B]

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

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237

Headdress of a Snake member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

the other. The four singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle. They sit west of the fireplace. [Spiritually, it is thought that Beaver Men in the long-ago contributed their rawhide and rattles to the society, just as they contributed the Natoas headdress to the Medicine Lodge and the sacred Pipestem to the Medicine Pipe Bundles.] 575 796 [346] [534] [173]

All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again, the feather bonnets [the Birds group] take a turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. . . . She wears a buckskin dress and a snake bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. . . . The feather bonnets 575 796 535 [539] [292] [237]

[p. 115-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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534

An old woman named Maka, or "Shorty," wearing her Motokik's Bull headdress. Her face is painted for her office, and she has her society whistle in her mouth. (Edward Curtis)

Opposite page: Scabby Bull headdress of the Motokiks Society. The lady's name was Snake People Woman. (National Museum of Canada)

Pipes among all four divisions of our People. 778
Since there were almost that many remaining 276
among all our People less than twenty years ago,
his estimate may be low. But it does give some
idea of how many there were among a tribe of
over ten thousand registered members. Today
there are twelve Medicine Pipes left on the four
reserves of our People.

The sacred Stem constitutes the "main" Pipe
in a Bundle. There is also another long Pipestem,
which we call the secondary Pipe. This second
Stem is not included in all the Bundles, and its
original purpose has been forgotten. Its stem is
flat, not round like the main Pipe's, and it is only
sparsely decorated. It is kept in a cloth cover simi- [415]
lar to the one for the main Pipe. These two sacred
Stems are like father and mother to the other
contents in the Bundles.

The skins of birds and animals vary according [787]
to the origins and later dreams accompanying
each Bundle. Each skin represents not only its
own species but also that element of nature in
which it lives most successfully; this is usually
mentioned in the song for that bird or animal.

Every Medicine Pipe Bundle contains the 778
skin of an owl, representing night. Owls have the 825
Power to succeed then, when others are handi- 237
capped. Another important skin is that of the
loon, which represents the element of water. The
loon has the Power of Water, where it swims and
finds its food and raises its children. The skins of
hawks and eagles are important because they rep-
resent the element of air, the Power to fly in the
sky. The skins of antelopes and deer symbolize
the element of Earth and the Power to live on the
prairies and in the forests. The skin of a marmot
stands for the Power to live in the high moun-
tains; the squirrel, the Power to live in open land.
A rattle of buffalo hide represents the Power of [534]
the Old People's most important source of food.
Dried berries (served in a sacred soup during the [824]
Thunder ceremony) are testaments of the Powers
of plants, as well as another of our Old People's

source of food. A whistle makes the sounds for the winds and all the birds that fly in the air. Pouches of sacred Earth paints represent our Earth Mother. Sweet pine needles, used for incense, speak for all that is sweet and holy. The tanned elk hide wrapped around the Bundle testifies to the majesty of that animal. The tanned skin of a black bear, wrapped around the elk hide, represents the physical power of bears and gives the Bundle strength and protection. A plaid shawl draped over all of these things gives the Bundle privacy and symbolizes the Power of the changes that have come to our Old Ways. 778 825 237 [824] [534] [823]

Sacred Pipes are smoked only during Medicine Lodge ceremonies, and not at any other time —not even during Medicine Pipe Bundle-Opening ceremonies. When taken out of their Bundles, they are not smoked but danced with. Dancing is so important that many refer to our Medicine Pipe ceremonies by the Blackfoot term *Ninamska-Paskan*—Medicine Pipe Dance. 778 276 796 [535]

In the Old Days, when the People lived together in lodges, the Medicine Pipe Bundle was opened on the first day Thunder was heard in the spring. When this happened and it was confirmed in the home of a Bundle Owner that the opening ceremony would be held, the wife immediately began preparing the berry soup. Owner and wife would then change into their best dress and straighten out their lodge, which soon filled with relatives, friends, and all nearby Medicine Pipe People. If the Owner was not properly educated to open his own Bundle, he asked a former Owner to lead the ceremony.

Each Bundle had its own group of followers. Those who formerly owned the Bundle always attended all its ceremonies. Close relatives of the present Owner came, and the ones who helped with the transfer payments were given spiritual rights to parts of the Bundle. Others came because they were interested in the special Powers of the Bundle. 778 [425]

In the Old Days, members of a band trans- 778

[p. 125-B] 432

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

the Old Days, only to ambitious persons. Anyone not wealthy but who had enough ambition and spiritual power could go out on a raid and bring home enough horses to take care of the physical sacrifice.] 778 432 [555]

"High sleeper" paid sixteen out of his twenty-one horses. He had lost all his relations but one and bought the pipe to change his luck. I witnessed the ceremony of his purchase which took place in the lodge of Crop Eared Wolf [the adopted son of Head Chief Red Crow, who later became his successor], who had owned the pipe for ten years. I also was present at the transfer of a pipe from "Roach Mane" [the young-man name of Ponah's father, Iron] to "Brave Bear." 778 432 796 [782] [435]

The following description I write after being present at four Thunder dances: -

Inside the lodge, directly opposite the entrance, is a space occupied by a cushion to receive the pipe which was now outside, where it always stands in fine weather during the day, leaning on two sticks against the west side of the lodge. On each side of this space and extending around the lodge to the entrance in two half circles are arranged blankets and quilts for seats for the visitors who soon begin to arrive; the host (who is seated with the cushion at his left hand) tells each person where to sit; four or five men, who are good singers and know the songs used on these occasions, are told to take their places on the left of the entrance and are given tom-toms. [353] [533] [534]

The Master of Ceremonies, or Priest, of the occasion, who is never the host but someone who knows all the songs of the pipe, of which there are a great many, and who is well versed in the mystic rites or functions in connection with the sacred pipes, takes his place next to space for pipe, sitting opposite to host, the cushion space being between them. [793]

In front of cushion, between it and the fire, is a square hole dug in the ground, size about 9 or 10 inches square, and two or three inches deep; its sides being at right angles with the cushion. Upon

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony 1890's]

done at S.W. where the other red plume is placed, then N.W. and N.E. corners [in] which are stuck the black plumes. Two small willow sticks painted red, about 2 feet long, [are] stuck upright in the ground in front of and close to the bundle, a third is tied across horizontally near tops of them, four waves being made to altar before each stick is placed in position. The mouth ends of the two pipestems are placed resting upon this crosspiece, a stuffed owl is laid with it, head also upon the crosspiece end of long wood. A quantity of tobacco, generally a 3 lb. carrot of H.B.C. [Hudson's Bay Company, which was often supplied by Wilson from his trading post] tobacco, is now divided up by host and a piece given to priest who, breaking off a small particle, holds it out in front of him and, often giving a short prayer to the earth, pushes the balance into the earth. One of the old men present counts a couple of coups which are loudly applauded. Four children, or as many as the host has, or any child relative whose parents wish it to be painted, are brought forward, and painted by Priest. All is now ready for dancing which is started by Priest, who takes some article from the Sacred Outfit, generally the fancy stem of pipe, and dances around the lodge and out through the entrance. He often has in one hand this whistle which he points up to the sun and earth, blowing as he dances, and shaking the pipestem which has a great many bells on it. After turning around outside he dances back through lodge and having danced four times, hands articles to host, who prays to them [or with them, as I have said] and puts them in their place. After some chatting, the drums start up again and sing three songs and at the fourth, one of those men present who have owned a Sacred Pipe gets up and dances around the lodge, dancing towards the pipe three times, holding out his hands as if he would take it; the fourth time he takes it and often one of the other articles and dances with them in his hands. Each man dances to four songs [actually one song, sung

796 432 778 [824] [237] [276] [439] [792] [555] [302] [852] 796 432 778 535 [534] [782] [533]

[p. 128-B]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

four times], then gives the articles to host as before. Sometimes 2 or 3 will be on the floor at same time. One may have owl, or rattle alone; they can suit themselves and take whatever they like. [Not exactly. Past and present Medicine Pipe Owners may select anything from the Bundle, but some persons who have never owned a Bundle may have had the rights to certain objects within a Bundle transferred to them. They can then always dance with those objects but not with any other.] When using the whistle they begin at a high note and descend the scale with a continuous toot, toot, toot. 796 432 778 535 [422] [533] [534]

In making the first three feints to take the pipe, the dancer often retreats, dancing back around the lodge making the sign to kill (as if stabbing with a knife). [This preliminary dancing Wilson describes is no longer done at all. Today, when a man gets up to dance he takes the selected object, prays, and dances four times.] They nearly all dance the same step in this ceremony, a slow, regular, vigorous jump with both of the knees bent; the tunes and songs used upon these occasions are not sung at any other time; the step in dancing is also peculiar to Calumet [Pipe] men. There is a preference shown for the owl, which is most often taken up and almost always prayed to by the dancer as he takes it in his hands, or the host when it is handed back to him. [According to our traditions, the dead come back to visit the living in the bodies of owls. For that reason owls are respected as being very Powerful, and many participants desire the spiritual strength they get by dancing with one.] At one of these dances, while one of the dancers had the owl in his hands, I was amused to see a claw and leg of the bird fall to the ground, at which all present put on a very long face, thinking it a bad omen, and it is a strange fact that the owner of the pipe and host on that occasion died before the summer was out, his Calumet was buried with him, the stems lying on his breast. [Any accident that occurs during a sacred ceremony is con- [201] [178] [825] [775] 796 432 778 787

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

vendor's wives, supply. Vendor's wives chew sweetgrass while they are dressing others. When they are through the blanket is taken down. The candidate is dressed completely in a new suit of clothes by vendor; this is done before his wives are dressed. Each garment is waved four times to incense before being put on. Candidate now gets up and, passing behind pipe with fire stick in hand walks out, stepping on four bundles of sage the first four steps. A painted white horse is waiting outside which he mounts, and there is handed him the fancy pipestem, which he holds in his arms. A priest leads off the horse, singing, to candidate lodge which the latter enters [candidate enters his lodge]; a squaw brings back the horse, and priest returns with stem and owl [to vendor's lodge]; 2 Priests and 2 others go outside [vendor's lodge] having in their hands both pipestems, owl, rattle, and whistles, they stand in a line and sing while the four drummers form another line behind and they all move off, singing, to lodge of candidate; front line dancing and singing forwards and backwards, at times facing around when they at last arrive at candidate's lodge. Front line goes in, drummers at once return [to vendor's lodge], candidate at once comes out [from his own lodge] and, mounting horse which had been brought around again, he comes back to [vendor's] lodge and enters. As he enters, the drummers all take hold of a common pipestem and bow their heads low, still waiting, until he passes in, when they lift their heads and go to work at their drums. 796 778 432 [824] [261] [824] [231] [531] [533] [534]

Now there is dancing for an hour, very much like Thunder Dance, but more of it, there sometimes being four up at once. Head bands and feathers are taken off. A blanket is now held up as a curtain, closing from view the man and boy. The two priests take the front locks of hair of each [the man and boy] and form a top-knot by braiding out one braid in front and doubling it back upon itself and tying it with buckskin; a long strip of otter skin is wrapped around [the braided lock], making a long roll sticking out over the [535] [852] [302] [237]

[p.130-B]

[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

times, facing each of the four directions. The dancing party stands on a walkway made up of blankets, quilts, and pieces of material given to the Bundle's Owner afterwards. However, for this Bundle, both men and women dance, one encouraging the other. 796 778 535 562

Before the dancing began, Emonissi took the sacred Pipe outside the main tipi and prayed to the Powers of the Universe. He returned and laid the sacred Stem on a rack, made up of three sticks like a miniature goal post. The drummers began the introductory turn for the Medicine Pipe Dance. All the songs, or chants, were accompanied by hard-soft, hard-soft beats on the rawhide-covered hand drums. The four drums used to be among the accessories of a Bundle, but no longer. Today, drums are usually borrowed. 796 778 [782] [533] [534]

During the introductory song, Mokakin got up and prepared to be the first dancer. He went up front and took a pinch of sweet pine needles from the pouch next to the altar. Putting the needles in his mouth, he chewed them, then spit a bit of them in his right hand, which he brushed down the left side of his body. He did the same with his left hand. Then he repeated the whole ceremony. Finally, he spit some of the incense in his hands, rubbed his palms together, then rubbed the soles of his moccasins a total of four times. He was now symbolically purified and ready to handle the sacred objects from within the Bundle. 796 778 783 [824] [261]

One of the two Pipestems was very simply decorated, while the other was more fully decorated with the eagle tailfeather fan. The simple pipe looked like the secondary Pipe and the latter looked like the main Pipe, except for one feature. The secondary Pipe is usually more recently made; but here this simple pipe was very ancient compared to the one with the eagle tailfeathers. And indeed, Mokakin selected the much older, more simple Pipe, which was this Bundle's main Pipe. 796 778 276 [531] [237]

Mokakin prayed aloud, holding up the sacred 796 778 782

[P.134-B]

[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

Ponah did the same thing to two women visitors. Then Mokakin went up and took from the Bundle the secondary Pipe. He carried it, dancing, behind his daughter, who was holding the main Pipe. Ponah again kept time, and when the dance was over, all three again gave gifts to the visitors.

Theresa gave the sacred Pipe to her brother Frank, also a former Owner. They danced side by side around the fire while their father followed with the secondary Pipe. This time Mokakin also carried the sacred rattle, shaking it and keeping time to the beat.

After more gifts to the visitors, the sacred Pipe was handed to someone else. And so it went, the Pipe and dancing alternating among the men and women until it was handed to one of the drummers, who asked someone else to drum in his place as he danced. When he finished dancing his four rounds, he unexpectedly brought the Pipe over to its Owner. According to tradition, the dancing was over, even though only half of the participants had been given a chance to dance.

Jim Twig then got up to begin the final part of the ceremony. First, he gave each participant a piece of old-fashioned twist tobacco. Each person removed a pinch and held it aloft, while Emonissi began a prayer. Everyone joined the prayer and then offered the pinch of tobacco to Earth. Next, Jim Twig passed out packages of tobacco and rolled cigarettes to all present. In the Old Days he would have handed out sacred tobacco, harvested during the previous summer, dried in the fall, and kept all winter inside some of the skins within the Medicine Pipe Bundle. When his supply was exhausted, he returned to his seat, ending the ceremony.

People picked up their blankets, gathered their eating bowls and bags of food, and left the tipi. Emonissi and Jim Twig stayed seated, so that they could tie the Bundle back up. For this, no ceremony was required.

[p. 135-B]

Later on the Fourth Day

Back at our tipi, we put away our blankets and other things, lay down in the shade, fanned ourselves, and drank lots of cool water. Getting water to the Sun Dance Camps used to be quite a chore in the Old Days, as there was no accessible water source in the Belly Buttes. Nowadays, a truck with a full tank of cold well-water drives around the camp circle every evening so that people can fill their containers. 312

It was a clear, calm, middle-of-summer day; the temperature must have been at least a hundred. We heard someone singing. The song was to honor the wife of Harry Shade, about to become a member of the Motokiks. Although it is traditional for this society to transfer memberships as a group, a woman may make a vow to join if she learns that a present member is willing to part with her Society Bundle. As in this case, Noyiss, the wife of Henry Standing Alone, had agreed to transfer her membership. We looked toward the Motokik's lodge, where we saw someone leading a fine horse with a pile of beautiful blankets on its back—all representing payments for the new membership. 575 432 [533] [554] [782] [422] [424]

Part of the Motokiks' transfer ceremony is public and part is closed. We walked over to the lodge to join a crowd of others to see what we could through the two doorways and the lodge covers, which were opened for all to see. Inside, three women were dancing in place. They wore 575 432 796 [535] [292] [534]

[p. 136-A]

Snake headdresses, whistles on leather thongs around their necks, and shawls over their shoulders. The feather plumes of their headdresses waved in the air as they danced. Each of the women tooted on small whistles made from eagle bones. The women's faces were completely covered with sacred yellow paint, which looked greenish in the subdued lighting of the lodge. Thin red lines were drawn from the corners of their eyes and mouths.

Four of the older men did the singing—Joe Sun, Albert Wolf Child, Mark Old Shoes, and Fred Weasel Fat—all former members of the Horns Society. They sat in a row, facing east, each beating the song's rhythm with a rawhide rattle on a sheet of rawhide spread before them on the ground.

The members' beds were lined head to foot around the lodge wall. Members who were not dancing sat quietly on their beds. Before each bed, a piece of earth was cleared. This was the altar where the incense was made. Just beyond the altar, toward the center of the lodge, a short, upright stick had been firmly planted in the ground. Tied to each stick was a decorated rawhide container. This was where the sacred headdresses were kept when not worn.

Soon the doors of the lodge were closed, shutting us from the mystery of the ceremony within.

[p. 136-B]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

he danced. He handed the sacred Stem to me, 778
then stepped aside, permitting the man behind 432
him to dance before us. This man carried the 796
secondary Pipe, which he gave to me. The third [535]
man in line gave me the wrapped owl skin; the
fourth man handed me the decorated whistle
and rawhide rattle.

The capture party spread out a blanket and instructed me to sit on it, holding these sacred objects next to my body. With the help of two young men, they all picked up the blanket, lifting me into the air. They carried me out toward Stabs Down's tipi, SikskiAki and Wolf Child following behind.

Atsitsina walked along, singing the ancient [533]
honoring song of our family's band, the Many
Children. He preceded each song by calling, in a [534]
loud, sing-song fashion, "Natosina, Ah-hey . . .
SikskiAki, Ah-hey . . . Makwi Poka, Ah-hey,"
and then he sang, announcing the sacred duty we
were about to assume.

I could hear the Old Man's voice, booming above the other drummers, singing in Stabs Down's white tipi as we approached it. On the way, the party stopped four times and gently lowered me to the ground. They carried me into the tipi as Sun moves, from east to west around the fire. The Owner's seat was vacant, south of the opened Bundle. SikskiAki and Wolf Child sat at my right. The leader sat to my left; he instructed me to replace the sacred objects in the opened Bundle between us.

The Old Man was very proud that his [536]
"grandchildren" sat in the place of honor next to
the sacred Bundle that had so long been his. He [533]
sang a rousing honoring song that silenced every-
one in the lodge. When he finished he took up his [534]
drum and beat a rolling introduction with his
drumstick.

The drummers began one of the Medicine 778
Pipe dance songs and the four members of the 432
capturing party danced with the sacred objects. 796
White Horn led the group, which included 535

[p.139-A]

Bundle's blue-bead wristlets. The wristlets for the Long-Time Pipe stayed in Weaselhead's family for many years. The original drums from the Bundle are now owned by Many Grey Horses. They are often used at the opening ceremonies of our remaining sacred Pipes. 778 793 [432] [301] [534]

Bobtail Chief transferred the Long-Time Pipe to Stephen Fox, who vowed to take it during an illness. Stephen Fox was a successful rancher who owned many horses. Bobtail Chief did not think that enough of those horses were being sacrificed for something so Powerful as our Long-Time Pipe. During the transfer ceremony, after he had looked outside at the payments, he came back in and told the drummers to sing a special song in which he said, "I do not see that fine gray team among your payments."– Stephen Fox quickly sent someone after the matched team, which he had hoped not to lose. [782] [432] [435] [796] [533]

Stephen Fox was known by the name White-Plastering-His-Home until he became Owner of the Long-Time Pipe. During the transfer, he took on the name Big Eagle. This was in keeping with our tradition, which allows a person to take a new name for noteworthy accomplishment: a first coup, a long-distance journey, or a major role within our tribe. [551] [553] [555]

Stephen Fox left behind a large family when he died a few years ago. Some of them are well known in reserve politics, business, social affairs, and news media. He got the Fox name when, as a young boy, he was sent to school with his sister. The teachers did not care to learn the students' traditional names, so they decided to give them all "proper" names. Because his sister's name was Medicine Fox Woman, they were both given the last name of Fox. [551]

Calling First wanted to have the Long-Time Pipe, even though Stephen Fox did not wish to give it up so soon. So he decided to make sure of a transfer by stealing the Pipe from Stephen Fox. Fifty-two horses were among the payments made during that transfer. Calling First had the distinc- [432] [582] [584]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
778
415
262

Sacred berry soup being served to participants of the ceremony. This is a typical scene at all Medicine Pipe ceremonies. Most Owners and former Owners follow the custom of bringing wooden bowls to eat from, while others bring whatever containers they have available.

796
778
533
534
291

The drummers and singers of the Long-Time Pipe ceremony. From front to back: Willie White Feathers; Albert Chief Calf; Atsitsina; and Mark Old Shoes.

[P.151-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
778
534
237
292
535

Frank Red Crow, dancing with the sacred rattle. He is being helped by his wife and by Mokakin, who holds the owl skin. The Red Crows bought new Hudson's Bay striped blankets to wear for this ceremony.

[p. 154-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

292
237
778
534
793

Eagle Arrow. The eagle-bone whistle and the feathers are his Medicine. (Glacier Studio)

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the Brave Dogs. At the age of thirty-five he joined the Horns. 793 778

For several years Wings worked on his brother's farm and then on the reserve's agency farm. Because the agent liked Wings, he was often given pleasant jobs like driving to town in a buggy to pick up mail and groceries. Eventually the agent decided to set up Wings on a farm of his own. Wings chose a vacant piece of land on the reserve and became a "homesteader" (an option still open to members of the band). The agent loaned him eight good horses, a wagon, a [575] [561] 793 778 657 [464] [426]

[p. 156-A]

Crees and they were panic-stricken. They ran into the bushes, leaving the stolen horses behind. In the chase one of the Crees fired at Bear Hat and shot him in the chest. 726

After the Crees were massacred, the pursuers found Bear Hat, blood coming from his mouth, slumped over on his horse. "I am hurt," he told them. Some rode quickly back to camp, announcing the victory over the thieves and that the horses were recaptured, and reporting that Bear Hat was injured. They brought a travois to carry Bear Hat back to camp, and when they returned, the People, seeing Bear Hat's condition, did not celebrate their victory dance. But Bear Hat insisted. "Nothing has happened to me yet. I am not dying. So have your victory dance." 727

And so the victory dance was celebrated, with the scalps and the hands and feet that the pursuers had cut off the Crees in the massacre. The People sang: "My wounds . . . I don't feel them."

Even Bear Hat, the bullets still in his body, joined in with these words.

Night came, and then morning, and Bear Hat was still alive. His wife took the curlews from the sacred bag and faced them toward the wall, away from where Bear Hat lay. She then asked among the People for seven men and seven married women still without child, all singers with good voices. The men sat in a row toward the center of the lodge, facing north, and the women sat behind them. The man sitting at the head took Bear Hat's yellow-painted drum with the curlew picture drawn on it. Drums having supernatural powers were offered by the People to the six other men. 727 755 [534] [778]

The wife then pulled Bear Hat to the center of the lodge, leaving him on the bare ground, his feet toward the fireplace. She took the two curlews in her arms, and after walking around the lodge, clockwise, in the direction Sun travels, she put them down on their bellies facing Bear Hat and covered them with a yellow-painted cloth.

[p. 178-A]

Hanging a yellow-painted whistle around her neck, she then took from the sacred bag some yellow paint in her palms and spit on it. She daubed her forehead with it and rubbed some on the back of her hands. Bear Hat lay on his back, the blood dried on his exposed wound. His wife told the People, "Bear Hat told me something might happen in times to come. You will do as I have told you and you will revive him." 727 755 [534] [362]

Taking the yellow-painted drum from the lead singer, she sat by the doorway, beating very fast on the drum and blowing on her whistle four quick, loud whistles at a time. After four quick beats on the drum, she began to beat slowly on the rim, singing her song with no words. The men and women singers, who had never heard this song before, learned it quickly. She returned the drum to the lead singer, and they all sang as one voice. The women especially sang with skilled voices, just like coyotes. [534] [533]

The wife was wearing a yellow-painted robe with loops at the corners. She stuck her hands in the loops, and spreading out her robe with her arms, she made as if she were flapping wings, all the while blowing her whistle. Then she let the whistle drop from her mouth, and she put words to her song: "Man, sit up. Man, sit up."

Again, she blew on the whistle, as she moved slowly toward the covered curlews. Suddenly, she pulled the cover off the stuffed birds. The stuffed birds got up on their feet and spread their wings, making four trumpetlike sounds. The curlews staggered and then ran, flapping their wings; one ran around the north side, the other around the south, meeting on the chest of the wounded Bear Hat.

As Bear Hat began to rise upward into a sitting position, the curlews suddenly no longer seemed lifelike, and reverted to stuffed skins. When Bear Hat sat up, a cloth band was securely wrapped around his chest. Then a drink was prepared for him. Water was poured into a wooden bowl, and the yellow paint was added, which the

once used to decorate buckskin clothing, before traders brought glass beads to our People. Berries, too, were often strung to make necklaces and wristlets. They were made in this way: A fire was started with dry wood, then grease was dropped on the wood. The necklaces and wristlets were held in the greasy smoke until they were covered with an even layer of dark grease. Then they were polished with a soft piece of buckskin to a very pleasant finish.

Berry stones were also placed inside rawhide rattles.

DYES were made from a number of plants: owl clover made red; violet flowers made blue; some lichens were used to make green; and the roots of the Oregon grape, yellow.

Plants also provided stuffing for pillows and saddles, and carpeting inside of tipis. Uses for their various woods ranged from fire fuel and holding up lodge covers to making bows, arrows, and traps.

BIRDS AND ANIMALS

Because the Old People lived their days with the birds and animals, the names they called them generally summarized an outstanding trait or characteristic. Some birds and animals are named for their similarity to others, often indicated by the prefix *big*.

This first list concerns the names of birds.

BIRD: The general word for bird is *piksi*, although the exact meaning has been lost. Small birds are *sistsi*; very small birds are *poksistsi*.

EAGLE: There are two kinds, the golden eagle and the bald-headed eagle. *Pitai* designates the golden eagle; *ksikichkinni*, or "white head," the bald eagle.

HAWK: The hawks as a group are *aiinnimaiaks*, or "seizers." The large rough-legged

would fight, chase wild animals, or run into water, even when loaded with packs and travois. 231 825

HORSE: The first horses our Old People saw resembled elks but were used like dogs. Thus the name *ponokamitai*, or "elk dog." Horses first came to the Bloods from neighboring tribes sometime around 1750, before the Bloods had seen their first white man. By a century later, our People's whole way of life had changed. By then they owned about eight horses per lodge. Our head chief, Pinukwiim, owned about a hundred horses before his death in 1870. Many horse-poor people borrowed some from the chief to pack their belongings whenever camp was moved. [439] [178] [492]

The original horse we used was known as the "Indian pony." It is now almost extinct due to the government's efforts to interbreed it with the larger "white man's horses," more practical for farm and ranch use. Compared with today's horses, the old pony was smaller and better suited for rough traveling, requiring little food and water.

Horses, like dogs, were eaten only in times of great hunger. Their hides were popular for drumheads. [261] [237]

BUFFALO: *Einiua*, the most important source of food for our Old People. The name is said to refer to the animal's black horns. Spiritually, buffalo are still very important, although their scarcity has made it necessary to substitute beef in most ceremonies. Hides and dried meat, however, are occasionally available. [534] 825

ELK: *Ponokau* refers to the animal's long legs. Elk were so commonplace in the Old Days, our Old People easily hunted them whenever buffalo herds could not be found. All parts of the elk were used.

Tanned elk hides made robes that holy women wore throughout the hot summer days of the Medicine Lodge ceremony. 292 237

[p. 192-A]

575
796
782

The Motokiks gather around their sacred Center Pole for one last prayer and blessing, before hanging up their Bundles for the year.

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encampment. At the start, several hand drums beat in unison a steady rhythm to accompany the men and women singing the comrade songs of their society. We all listened quietly and respectfully. The singing continued late into the night, a spiritual form of entertainment that was to be repeated during the next few nights. 575 533 [534]

The members of the Horns Society slept in their double lodge during the nights of their cere- 575 [796]

[p. 203-B]

bers suddenly noticed they were facing a large enemy war party that had concealed itself near the camp. The Braves, carrying only their spears, stood little chance in a direct encounter, so the society leader ordered the members to resume dancing. The performance so impressed the enemy that they retreated. 575 796

Within these societies were usually two members known as Bears. These Bears had the publicly accepted right to appropriate food from someone for the use of all the members. If they saw a successful hunter returning home they could demand a portion of his meat to be used as a meal for the society. The Bears could be identified by their painting, clothing, and other insignias, especially a headdress made from a strip of bear fur with two claws attached to resemble small horns on the wearer's head. Percy Creighton bought one of these headdresses from old Gambler and sold it to Mrs. Walters for forty-five dollars. It had belonged to the Brave Dogs Society. 575 554 [425] [292] [237] [439] [435]

Some of our older men are still members of the now-inactive Brave Dogs Society, as it is known among our division. The Piegans call the same group the Crazy Dogs Society. Meetings of one group may be attended by members from other divisions. They can often be recognized during our social dances, or powwows, by their membership insignias—individually painted rawhide rattles, which they carry suspended from their wrists by fur straps. Traditionally, each member painted his face according to the design on his rattle. 575 [619] [531] [231] [534] [302]

Social societies of male contemporaries are still formed among our People. Today there are the Red Belts, the Magpies, and the Parted-Hairs. One group, called the Baggy Underwears, is making an effort to take on a new name. 575 178

[p. 215-B]

Man], and Skunk [Bob Black Plume]. Those four people are the shamans of the Big Smoke. When people make vows they will say to the one who will officiate, "Pray for my child so that he or she may get better. I will treat you very good." 796 [793] [782]

To make the incense altar, a part of the ground will be scraped clean and Earth will be added on top, and at one end a pillow-shaped thing will be placed and a piece of manure will be laid on it. The little pipe is laid on this piece of manure, and there is another large piece of manure on which some pipes are laid. The pipes are given to the singers who will pray with them and then they will sing. [778] [237] [276]

The ceremonialist [leader] will select who will sing and how many songs they will sing.

Big Smokes are held at my house. Big Smokes can be held in any place where people can sit conveniently, as long as there is a stove in the house, as we use the hot charcoals for burning the incense.

The one that made the vow and prepared the Berry Soup will sit with the ceremonialist. The one that made the vow will take his shirt off and he will be painted on the face and body with the paint. He will take the pipe that is to be handed out first and he will offer it to the ceremonialist. The one that made the vow will give a smoke to the ceremonialist and the ceremonialist will pray for him in return for the pipe. [782] [302]

The one that prepared the Berry Soup will not sing. He will just sit at the back. He will be called the Holy Sitter.

After the ceremonialist finishes his facial paintings he will take the rattles and rattle them four times and then give one to each of the four singers. The first man will then start. He will pray, he will not sing. When he gets through praying, he will sing. He will say, "I made an offering at such a place," and he will give four accounts. 796 533 [782] [534]

The four men will sing about their most important sacred Bundle. They will sing of a

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

of a willow stick. He then blew offerings of smoke 796
to the Spirits who dwell in the Above, in the 788
Below, and on Earth. Everyone was very quiet, 276
for the Old Man was symbolically smoking with
the Powers of the Universe. He blew smoke in
various directions until all the tobacco in the bowl
had been smoked.

The main part of the ceremony was now 796
ready to be started. Incense was made, and the 788
Old Man held four rattles over the sweet smoke. 533
He shook the rattles, to prepare the Spirits for
singing, then passed them to the man who was [534]
farthest to the right. The others sang a song while
he prayed and told about one offering. In the
same way, each of the four men sang four rounds
of the song and called out four offerings.

The four men prayed for the other partici- [782]
pants, calling each one by name, and their fam-
ilies. As each one heard his name, he placed his [201]
hands on his chest, signifying that he was taking
the prayers to his heart.

When each man finished praying, he sang his 796
first four songs, representing the most Powerful 793
Medicines transferred to him during his lifetime. 778
Atsitsina and I were the only participants who 533
had not belonged to the Horns; our first songs
were for our Medicine Pipe Bundles. Medicine
Pipe Owners were allowed to sing four songs for
the Bundle they were keeping. Beaver Bundle
Owners could sing as many songs as they wished
for their Bundle. All others were allowed to sing
only one song for each sacred thing that had been
transferred to them, even if that object had a
great many songs.

As a current Medicine Pipe Owner, a special 796
ceremony was held at my turn to sing for the first 793
round. A blanket was spread to the left of the 783
altar. The Old Man sat to my left on the blanket. 533
A coal was deposited at the rear of the altar and I
held a pinch of sweet pine needles over the hot
coal, the Old Man's hand on top of mine. He
began with a prayer, then sang four Medicine
Pipe songs, slowly lowering my hand with the in-

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 533 539 stuffed with tobacco seed. The song for the doll on the bonnet is: "Children are running about. They are running from us. They are running towards us. They are boys. They are powerful." The man says, "Give me the child," and makes the movement of reception. Another song is sung: "Child is crying," and the man imitates the crying of a child. The song for the little birds is: "Bird says water is my medicine; it is powerful," for the calf tail: "Man says calf tail I want," and for the arrow point: "Sharp points are on both sides." Then follows the song for the leather band which represents the lizard: "Yonder man, I am angry and mad at you." This song of the lizard refers to the prairie dog chief. The blue paint on the band represents water and the song for it is: "The blue waters are our medicine." The song for the feathers is: "Feathers I want." Another song for the plume on the feathers: "Red I want." This closes the evening ceremony. The man and woman are put to bed and all go home.

796 539 542 [484] This is the ceremony after the first sweathouse is made. Three more moves of the entire camp and three more sweathouses must be made. The fourth move and sweathouse is where the sun dance takes place. Nowadays, only one sweathouse is made for the sun dance.

796 It seems that the final camp is marked out by a society laying rocks around its bounds, according to which the arriving bands find their proper places.

796 798 At the fourth camp and on the fourth day, the natoas bundle is opened, or its formal ritual demonstrated. Early in the day another tipi is pitched before the medicine tipi and the covers are joined, thus enlarging the space and providing for a few spectators. A few men and women are invited to assist in the ceremony: the men use the rattles and with the women aid in the singing. The father and other men sit on the north side [193] of the tipi, the former next the medicine woman's husband; and the other women sit on the south side, the mother next to the medicine woman. She directs the medicine woman and the singing of the other women. The ceremony opens at about ten A. M. with the first series of songs in the ritual. [534] Three men hold a rattle in each hand, beating them upon the rawhide by a vigorous downward forward stroke, the seventh rattle is used by the father.

796 798 432 The ritual of the natoas will be found in Volume 7, pp. 215-220. Normally, this ceremony transfers the natoas to the daughter. She may, however, waive the right, in which case the bundle returns to the former owner. Yet, she seems to enjoy all the privileges accorded to one having been an owner.

Theoretically, no one can perform a transfer ceremony without having first owned the bundle in question. In case of the natoas, even now, a beaver owner is regarded as competent to conduct the proceeding, though he may never have gone through the ritual with his wife. This is consistent with the tradition that formerly the natoas was a part of the beaver

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Being a good and true woman, like all others who give the sun dance, she spurned him. Next day she told her husband the whole story. He was very angry. He was not satisfied with the confession she made, but suspected that she must have given the young man some encouragement. So when all the medicinemen and women had come into the tipi to rehearse the songs as usual, he made a statement of these suspicions and as he had two wives, he proposed to have them change places.

The medicinemen pleaded for the first wife because they believed her innocent, but the husband was obdurate. So the second wife was called in to take the place. Then the first wife said, "It was I who saved this man's life when he was ill. I made the vow to give the sun dance and he got well. I have suffered much in fasting, all for him. Now he disgraces me before all the people. But I will put my virtue to a test. If I am true, I have already acquired power."

She filled a pipe, went outside and standing now on the east side of the tipi, then on the south, the west, and the north, she addressed the sun. The day was clear, but soon after the woman entered the tipi, thunder was heard. A storm came down with hail and blew over many tipis. But in spite of these proofs, her husband was obdurate and the second wife went on with the ceremony.

Not long after the sun dance this same man became ill again. Finally, as a last resort, he called upon the first wife to save him again. This woman told him to call upon the other woman as he seemed to have so much faith in her. So he died and was properly punished for so unjustly treating his faithful wife.

The Procession to the Dancing Lodge.

In our account of the natoas ritual we told how the father, son, etc., emerge from their tipi. The file is headed by the father, followed by the son, next the mother, then the medicine woman followed by women bearing the tongues. The father and the son are muffled in blankets (robes); the latter walks with bowed head, leaning heavily on a staff and bearing over his head a wild rhubarb stalk.[1] The medicine woman wears the natoas on her head, an elkskin (often buckskin) dress and an elkskin robe, with the digging-stick on her back. For a staff, she uses one of the smudge sticks. The women in her rear bear parfleches containing the tongues, together with blankets and other ordinary objects. Two or three old men act as

[1] Scar-face is said to have made a whistle (flageolet) of such a stalk. The pith of the growing plant is sometimes eaten for food.

their blankets, and help them to rise. Again they perform the entire ceremony, singing all the songs belonging to the bundle in proper rotation, thus teaching the new owner and his wife the ceremony. The previous owner then bundles up the pipe.

During the second day the new owner is taught also the four wordless songs which belong to the Catchers Society bundle. The wife of the new owner is taught how to carry the bundle, which is placed on her back after the usual four movements.

Rattles are used while singing the buffalo-stone songs, and the dancing is accompanied with drums, but these instruments are borrowed for the purpose.

The tripod is used when moving camp, and while taking down the tipi and setting it up again. Before bringing the pipe bundle into the tipi, incense always is made.

The pipe must never be placed on the ground, and when being smoked the bowl must rest on a special support wrapped with skin, which is a part of the bundle.

The Catchers Society pipe is sometimes taken out during the Sun Dance ceremony, filled and lighted, and smoke offered to the leading medicine-man, who in return prays for the pipe-owner.

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 535 their places in the dance. As may be supposed the dancers are worn completely out by the close of the ceremony. The movements of the dancers keep time with the beating of a drum accompanied by a monotonous chant which a group of old men seated nearby on the ground keep up continually. The drum used is of rawhide, stretched over a [534] [237] wooden hoop, similar in shape and somewhat larger than a tambourine. It is beaten with a single stick, the pounding end being wrapped with dressed skin or other suitable material.

796 555 [782] During the dance the warriors who have achieved success in war during the previous year enter the lodge to count their *coups* and anyone desiring to make a sacrifice to the sun does so by hanging his offering upon the pole. *Coup* is the French word meaning *blow,* and has come to be the accepted translation of the Blackfoot *nah-mach-kach,* a word difficult to find an exact equivalent for but being nearly "a trophy taken" (Major Culbertson's translation), its root being *nah-mah,* a weapon or military arm. The various exploits of war are denominated coups and reflect honor upon their performers according to a certain fixed scale of merit. To capture an enemy's arms is a coup of the first class; to touch him alive, of the second; to touch his dead body or secure his scalp, of the third; to make a successful theft of an enemy's horses, of the [431] fourth. Those who desire the privilege of recounting their [537] coups must first present a horse to someone at the door of the medicine lodge (an irrevocable gift), when he may enter the lodge and in his turn relate his exploits, illustrating them by gestures indicating the manner of their performance.

The horse stealers, however, are not required to make the gift of a horse at the door but bring with them a bundle of sticks, and, casting one into a fire kept burning in the lodge, say: "At such a time I stole so many horses at such a place, from such enemies." Then casting in another 796 stick describes another occasion. Such are the ceremonies [782] accompanying the sun dance, and when they are concluded all hands break camp and move away, leaving the lodge

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

524 The women had certain games peculiar to themselves. The principal one was played with six pieces of flat bone, six or seven inches long, shaved thin and sharpened at the needs and marked on both sides with peculiar lines, each side different from the rest. Two squaws played the game seated on the ground facing each other. The pieces of bone were all gathered in the hand and thrown edgewise on the ground, when the marks were counted on the sides that fell upward, the throw alternating between the players according to the count. They played another game called "The Bowl and Counters." The bowl was of wood, six or seven inches in diameter, and contained five flat seeds differently marked, which were tossed up and caught as they fell, the exposed sides being counted as in the case of
[525] the sticks. The women were almost as much addicted to gambling as the men and only their limited leisure and inadequate means prevented them from rivaling quite the sterner sex.

The Blackfeet had no games that could be considered merely social, and the men and women rarely played their games in common. This happened occasionally, however, more frequently in the game of ball. It should be added
[177] that the squaws frequently played ball alone. When playing cards were introduced they rapidly superseded all their former games except billiards and ball.

MUSIC

● 534 The Blackfeet had but two instruments of music, the drum and the flageolet. The former has already been described. The drum was used only as an accompaniment to the dance or in the incantations of the medicine men. The flageolet bore a crude resemblance to the civilized instrument, upon which some of the young men played a few simple melodies, always in the evening and usually by
[533] way of serenade. These instruments were very rare. The Blackfeet possessed quite a variety of songs, but all designed to accompany their dances or games. (See Songs).

The antiquity of parfleches and other painted rawhide containers is in doubt. Descriptions of the Blackfeet written prior to the fourth decade of the nineteenth century do not mention them. Yet Maximilian's account of these people in 1833, mentions "many kinds of painted parchment bags" then in use. It is possible that the Blackfeet did not make them at all before they acquired horses, and that prior to that time containers were of lighter, soft dressed skins, in the form of drawstring bags, such as were widely used by the neighboring Plains Cree in more recent times.

Since the extermination of the buffalo the Blackfeet have made rawhide cases after traditional patterns from cowhide. Because they are so useful for storing small articles, some parfleches are still in use among the older Blackfeet.

Men's painting on rawhide was confined primarily to the decoration of shields and drum heads. Shields were made from the thick hide of the buffalo bull's neck, shrunken over a fire in the ground, and trimmed into a circular form about 18 inches in diameter. The paintings on shields represent the buffalo, the sun, the moon or

[p. 19-B]

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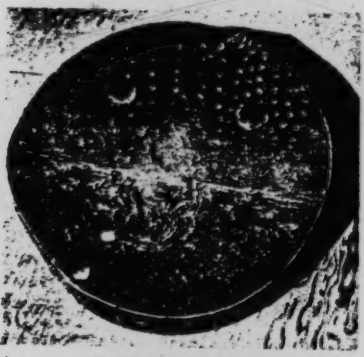

14. Painted ceremonial drum.

stars. They were symbolic medicine paintings intended to protect the shield owner in war. An old Blackfeet shield bearing a single crude painting of a buffalo in red is shown in figure 13. As was customary, a fringe of eagle feathers surrounds the rawhide body of the shield. Symbolic paintings were also made on the heads of drums used in ceremonials, such as the drum from a medicine pipe bundle bearing the claws of the thunder bird and dots symbolizing hail shown in figure 14. Horse and deer hides were preferred for drum heads.

532 714 [821] [231] 532 534 [825] [821] [237]

Painting on Soft Skins

Women also painted geometric patterns on the soft tanned inner surfaces of buffalo robes. Generally the robes were spread out on the ground, hair side down. Some women used one or the other of the two methods of applying the paint to robes explained in our description of parfleche painting, while others employed a third method. The outlines of the painted forms were pressed firmly into the soft surface of the hide with a flattened stick marking tool, drawn along the edge of a willow stick ruler. Then the bone paint brushes were used to paint in the designs with a mixture of paint, water, and glue from the second scrapings of a hide.

532 294

At one time Blackfeet women may have painted other geometric patterns on buffalo

531 294

[P·20-A)

48: Bushnell A-4 (no date) 1927 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

another country, where they will have lack of nothing; and that they have often been heard when they were summoned to smoke a pipe together. At the funeral of rich Indians, several horses are often killed upon the spot; and we were told of instances when twelve or fifteen horses were killed in this manner at the funeral of a celebrated chief . . . The relations assemble at the residence of the deceased, and even the men lament and wail. The corpse is generally buried on the first day, and in case of death during the night, it is removed on the following morning." (Maximilian, pp. 258–259.) He likewise referred briefly to the treatment of the sick: "The medicine men or physicians of the Blackfeet are very unskilful. We always saw them take water in their mouths, which they spit out over the wounded . . . Drums and rattles (schischikue) were daily used in their attendance on the sick, in the closed tent . . . These Indians have some efficacious remedies derived from the vegetable kingdom, one of which is a whitish root from the Rocky Mountains, which is called, by the Canadians, rhubarb, which is said to resemble our rhubarb in its effect and taste, and likewise to act as an emetic. Another root is esteemed to be a powerful remedy against the bite of serpents. In all cases they have recourse to the drum and the rattle, and have great confidence in the intolerable noise caused by those instruments. The Blackfeet make their rattles of leather, wood, or bladder." (Op. cit., p. 258.)

The burial and mourning customs of the Blackfeet were interestingly described by another observer a few years later: "The Blackfeet do not place their dead on scaffolds but either in a hole well covered to keep off the wolves, or they leave them in the lodge with everything just as it is when they die. In that case the wolves of course [illegible] their bodies very soon; and I am told that in this way the body of nearly every Blackfoot is disposed of. When one of them is in mourning he puts white earth on his head and goes out before his lodge wailing most piteously; as soon as the neighbors see that they all rush to his lodge and take it and everything it contains, leaving him nothing but his horse. The death of a relation is therefore a very serious affair, since a man loses all his property as well as his friend." (Culbertson, p. 126.)

The two preceding accounts contain rather conflicting statements, but they may refer to different groups of the Blackfoot confederacy. Possibly the tribal customs have undergone a change within a comparatively short time. This would be suggested by the following quotation: "Their manner of burial has always been (until recently) to inclose the dead body in robes or blankets, the best owned by the departed, closely sewed up, and then, if a male or chief, fasten in the branches of a tree so high as to be beyond the reach of wolves, and then left to slowly waste in the dry winds. If the body was

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Montana

kidding?" Finally White Wolf pointed to the portrait of Jesus and said, "That's him too," and at this point Marie cocked back her fist and threatened to knock out the rest of White Wolf's teeth (his front teeth, apparently, have already gone the route of the fist). Marie said, "I owe you one, anyway, for trying to feel me up in the car last night." 122

Eventually, I began to have a liking for even White Wolf—despite his asinine conduct. Pointing to the model airplane on the table, White Wolf said, "Wish I had that, me. I'm be well off up sky than on earth." And for a brief moment the foolish grin failed to mask the unhappiness and frustration which, as I know perfectly well, motivate the heavy drinking of so many Indians—make that *American* Indians.

White Wolf, still wearing his helmet, sat at the kitchen table and gummed down several pancakes. John and Marie took only coffee, John downing a whole cup of coffee without removing the large enamel mug from his lips. "What are you trying to do, marry the cup?" Marie said.

Marie was shaking so badly that she had to take her coffee in quick, aspirated sips. I said, "What's the matter, Marie? Got the shakes?"

"Wise guy!" she said.

After my tough-talking brother had fed and warmed the trio of walkers, he siphoned some gas from his car into a gallon jug, gave it to them, and refused to accept the silver dollar that Marie offered as payment. Marie gave the coin to the Chief, who, thinking it a gift, did not refuse it.

The walkers left at about 9:00. It is now 12:00, and Jimmy is preparing lunch. The sum of my morning's endeavor consists of having borrowed the Chief's galoshes in order to go to the spring for two pails of water, and typing this. Jimmy spent a large part of the morning in cutting firewood, and the Chief passed the time by examining numerous articles with his new glass and by working on the whistle he is making. The whistle is made of the wingbone of an eagle. The Chief has cut a notch in the bone, and he is currently engaged in partially filling the bone with some sort of gummy-looking stuff. This stage of production, I am told, is the most difficult, because if the gum is not put in exactly right, the whistle will not blow. After lunch, we will attend the horse races down at Heart Butte. This racecourse was the setting for my story, "Horserace," and I am anxious to see it once more. [237] [534]

Later: At lunch today, the Chief presented me with a very old, [123] [276]

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Medicine Rattle

Thursday, September 6

Last night, before going to bed, Jim said, "It's going to be a cold tonight." And it was. Jim was up and had the pancakes turning when I un-sacked at 7:45. I cannot take any more of Jim's roll-your-own pancakes. They would make excellent placemats. The other day I bought a big box of Aunt Jemima mix, but Jim managed to foul up that too. I was too late to save the pancakes, but I hastily volunteered to fry the eggs—once over lightly. The Chief noticed the difference, and he said that I am now official egg-fryer. Jim liked the eggs too, and he said, apologetically, "Goddam, I can't cook! What makes me, it's always in a hurry—that's what does it [The eggs always cook too fast]." With the addition of syrup, toast, tea, and canned cherries, we had a pretty good breakfast. The Chief has his hair in two braids today. I'm afraid that his cold is worse again.

The Chief wanted to go to town right after breakfast, and since I had a lot of typing to do, Jimmy took him in the old car. I was to meet them later, at the Tribal Office. I drove in at about 11:00, stopping briefly to take some pictures at Starr School, a large, green-

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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back down the double-track and went "down in the hill by the crick" where Phillip's brother lives. 122

To my surprise, we stopped at the little house at which I, upon first arriving, had made inquiries about the Chief. And to my astonishment, Phillip's brother turned out to be the skinny little Indian with the ear-lopper cap and the terrible teeth. There is no resemblance between them. Brother's name is Paul, and he brought along his wife, the retarded boy with the black birthmark, and a small boy of very dark complexion.

Back at the ranch . . . Jimmy produced two rawhide rattles from the Chief's room and handed one to each of the Many Hide brothers. The Chief said that it would not be religiously proper to play a drum inside the house, but Jimmy circumnavigated this prohibition with the fish-on-Friday expedience of pounding with a stick on the back of a chair, and while the singers made their other preparations, I attempted, with small success, to figure out who in the group was related to whom. The small boy that Phillip had brought was his grandson; the dark boy was Paul's son; the retarded boy with the patch whom we had picked up at Paul's house really belongs at Phillip's house, but I was never able to establish his exact relationship to anybody. The small boy ran around the house eating bread and butter; the dark boy sat on the sofa and picked the Chief's old Hudson's Bay blanket coat to shreds; and the boy with the patch—his name is Pete—sat in a corner and smiled. (534)

Paul's wife, although by no means ugly, is terribly unkempt. She has absolutely no teeth, poor woman, and one of her fingernails is almost ungular in its grotesque malformation. What these people need, in addition to a little education in personal hygiene, is better nutrition.

The good woman can really sing, though, and I was somewhat startled to hear such lovely and moving music emerging from her thoroughly edendate mouth. It was Paul, that other most unlikely of musicians, who started things off, and he lived up to his boast that he had been a great singer in his day ("Sometimes when they gonna had a dances, I showed you"). 122 533

The music commenced with a shaking of the rattles. Then Paul began to sing in a high quavering voice, and then Jimmy and Phillip joined in, and finally the women added a sort of minor key obbligato. All the singers had magnificent voice control, and the performance was really a very musical one.

Unfortunately, no one seemed to know the songs very well. No one except the Chief, that is, for whenever they started to foul up,

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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"I just about couldn't couldn't move." 195
"Closeter and closeter."
"They tooked him away in the paddle wagon."

If I could speak Blackfoot half as well as Jim speaks English, I would sure be one proud turkey!

As we sipped our nightcap, Jim gave me some interesting information about Crow love whistles, Sioux love songs (obviously the subject had turned to women) and the Blackfoot Pipe Dance. I was delighted to learn that there is to be a Pipe Dance on Sunday next. I am invited. 122 [123]

P.S. I almost forgot my favorite of all Jim's *phrases du jour:* "I just about almost couldn't nearly quite reach it." 195

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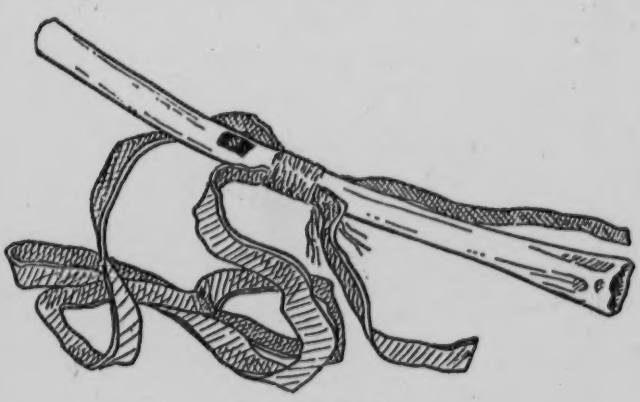

Eagle Bone Whistle

Saturday, September 8

Slept like log. Last one up. Breakfast of Buckwheats and jam and Jimmy's black filigree eggs and tea. Much warmer today. No wind, and the snow is melting. In the morning we drove to town and came back the long way, by way of Kiowa Camp. Passed two of the white crosses with which Montana marks the scene of an auto death (has the desired effect, too). Jim said a couple of Indian teenagers got drunk and ran their car off the road at high speed. "Dead as a toenail," he commented matter-of-factly, and did not waste sympathy for them. He also mentioned that Stanley's father got 122

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
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I went up on a hillside above the creek to look for wood I found the drum in the branches of a tree. The drum was completely undamaged, so I took it down to the encampment and gave it to Earrings. Earrings is buried in a house up there on the pine ridge, and so far as I know the drum was buried with him. 159 778

[534]

Sunday, September 9

Everybody beat me up today. I would probably be sleeping yet if I hadn't been reveilled by the ungodly sound of a dog gnawing on a bone. I thought he was outside the bedroom door, and I yanked it open with a shoe in one hand; actually, he was under the house, directly beneath my bed. So that is where the dogs go when they disappear! 122

I have seen a few moths around the house in past days, but suddenly this morning there were clouds of them—great fat things. I said to Jim, "I wonder where all those moths come from." [136]

Jim said, "Me, I wonder where all those moths come from. Goddam, I wonder where they come from. They come from someplace."

Indians are very willing to participate in any experience which appears to be of interest to a friend. If I had suddenly become concerned with the reason that the moon is yellow, Jim would have 122 157 572

122 796 rituals which were, of course, Roman to me. The experience was somewhat akin to my first attendance, as a small boy, at an Italian Opera; I didn't understand half that was going on, but I thoroughly enjoyed every minute of it. I especially enjoyed the drumming. [534] Each of the four drummers held in his left hand a flat, tambourine-shaped drum. The top of the drum was covered with horsehide; the bottom was open, criss-crossed with rawhide thongs which held the drumhead tight and which also provided something by which the drum could be held by the drummer. The drum was struck with a single padded drumstick, and the tempo was fast. [533] The rhythm consisted in a hard beat and then a soft beat—like a rapid heart—and at the end of a sequence (or whatever the musical term is), the final soft beat would be skipped, the music ending with *hard beat, pause, hard beat.* No two drums were of exactly the same size or pitch, and they all sounded in perfect unison and the effect was magical. Once again I felt cheated because I have no real knowledge of music.

One of the drummers was Phillip Many Hides; another was a blind old Indian named Fish. The other two were strangers to me, and I was pleasantly surprised to see that one of them was a very young man—not many of the younger Indians participate actively in the old Blackfoot ceremonies.

122 796 798 296 The most striking ritual of the Pipe Dance ceremony is the unwrapping of the Medicine Pipe. The Medicine Pipe—actually a large and highly ornate pipe stem, without a bowl—is kept wrapped in cloth and wound with buckskin thongs and can be opened only at a religious ceremony with the proper ritualistic procedure. The procedure included chanting, drumming, much symbolic pointing and gesticulating with the Pipe, and the burning of sweetgrass. A [824] [412] braid of sweetgrass and a pair of wooden tongs made from the bifurcate branch of a sarvis berry bush are included in the wrapping along with the Pipe. The tongs were presented to Mary Ground, who used them to transport a burning ember from the stove to a flat stone on the floor in front of the functionary. With much chanting and gesticulation, old Dan Bull Plume shredded some of the dry sweetgrass over the hot coal, producing a sizeable amount of sweet, pungent smoke.

The Medicine Pipe itself, when finally exposed to view, was a beautiful thing. Over three feet long, it was marvelously decorated with such things as ermine tails, colored feathers, fur, beads, tiny brass bells, human hair, etc. The Medicine Pipe itself is not used for smoking, but during the ceremony another pipe (the long, stone-

122 123 778 Then the Chief spoke to Jim, and Jim went into the Chief's room and came back carrying an extremely old pouch of buffalo hide. I recognized it as a Blackfoot man's medicine pouch, quite large, painted with Indian designs, and with fringe more than two feet long. The Chief opened the pouch and showed its contents to me one by one. There were four large rattles of hardened rawhide—[534] very, very old; a lock of hair from a buffalo tail; a small piece of [386] hair-on buffalo hide which served to line the bottom of the pouch; and a sueded buckskin sack, colored with *nits-i-sahn*, a dull-red paint which the Blackfoots produce by burning a certain kind of clay, containing four buffalo stones (*I-nis-kim*). The buffalo stones are the darndest things I have ever seen. They are natural formations—not altered in any way except to be colored by *nits-i-sahn*—and although I was able to identify three of them as fossils and the fourth as probably an odd-shaped stone of sedimentary origin, it required very little imagination to see them as the Indians do, as tiny buffaloes. The pouch and its contents were an inheritance from [428] the Chief's father, and his father before him. They obviously meant a great deal to the Chief, and I admired them lavishly. I nearly flipped when he told me that they were mine.

Before I could recover from my astonishment, the Chief spoke to Jim again and Jim went again into the Chief's room and returned this time holding a bundle carefully wrapped in old trade cloth and tied with strips of buckskin. I learned that the bundle contained two Blackfoot Medicine Pipes, two pairs of rustic wooden tongs, some sweetgrass braided into a queue, *nits-i-sahn* paint, and several other articles. I had thought that I was to receive a Pipe tomorrow, after the Beaver Ceremony, but instead I received it tonight.

122 123 778 296 The Medicine Pipe is not to be confused with the so-called "peace pipe" which was a smoking pipe and was a rather common article among Plains Indians. The Medicine Pipe, which is really one portion of the Medicine Pipe Bundle, is a purely religious article and cannot be smoked.* According to best authority, there were never more than seventeen Medicine Pipes among all three tribes of the 425 778 796 Blackfoot Nation, and it is a rare privilege nowadays even to see a Medicine Pipe, let alone own one.

No two medicine pipes are exactly alike; the owner of each pipe

[796] [782] * I know of only one exception to this rule. During the Sun Dance, if a very special prayer is to be offered to the Sun, the Sun Pipe may be fitted with a bowl and smoked by those inside the Medicine Lodge. Such occasions are very, very rare.

And at the Beaver Dance Ceremony the pounding of drums was accompanied by the sound of rattles. There were four rattles, played at various times by different men—sometimes the Chief had one in his hand. But the rattles were not shaken in the air; they were pounded on the animal hides that covered the floor, so there was the double sound of the rattle striking the hide and the pebbles chattering inside the rawhide rattle. And then, too, there was the piping of the eagle-bone whistles. (The striking of the rattle upon the hide is a symbolic representation of the beaver's striking the water with his flat tail as a signal of danger; the blowing of the bone whistle represents the beaver's whistle-like warning sound.) The Chief had his whistle hung about his neck on a buckskin thong, and Plenty Treaty and Fish Wolfrobe had similar whistles. At special times, the whistles would inject a series of shrill peeps into the music, and the over-all effect of the drums, the rattles, the whistles, and the chanting was spellbinding—truly fascinating. 796 533 534

There is a theory, rather widely held in music circles, that American jazz derives not from African Negro music but from the music of the American Indian. I would be inclined to go along with this theory. Indians are the most musical people I have ever met. And although my opinion admittedly is unqualified, it is not prejudiced. I think that Keely Smith is the greatest female singer of popular songs, and I held this opinion even before I found out that she is an American Indian. And I did hear jazz—really good jazz—in the music of the Beaver Ceremony. 121 533

When everyone had taken his place, and the hides had been spread on the floor and the Beaver Bundle had been placed before the Chief, the ceremony began with the burning of sweetgrass on some earth which had been poured onto a hide and then flattened and swirled with the fingers into a pattern which, I feel sure, was symbolic. The sweetgrass was shredded by the Chief over a hot coal which had been carried in by Mary Ground with a pair of wooden tongs and placed on the earth on the hide. The long series of rituals which followed are, like the rituals of the Pipe Dance, defiant of description, but I think it interesting that women play such important roles in Blackfoot religious ceremonies. Interesting too is the fact that, with the exception of the carrying in of the coal, female functions are always carried out by groups of women, whereas the men usually dance singly. 796 796 562

I had somehow gotten the idea that I was to be number one debutramp at this here cotillion, but not so. I was just one more Blackfoot, and actually I preferred it that way. I was allowed to par- 123 796

chin and holding in her mouth a small stick, in imitation of the beaver. And there was a lively number called the Prairie Chicken Dance, in performance of which the women held blankets over their heads and spread their arms wide in imitation of the movements of prairie chickens. For some reason the Prairie Chicken Dance caused quite a stir of excitement among the womenfolk, and one woman (Cecile Horn) who had been standing in a doorway pulled her coat up over her head and moved out onto the floor to join the dancers. Almost immediately, another woman did the same thing. 796 778 535

The Blackfoots always manage to include in their religious ceremonies some occasion of pure fun, and today it was the Buffalo Dance—a real fun dance if such there ever was. The Buffalo Dance was the only co-educational dance of the day—boys can't have much fun without girls, let's face it—and if you want to have your own buffalo dance you need only music, people of both genders, and some buffalo hooves, polished and split and strung together on rawhide thongs so that they rattle nicely. 796 535 522 [534]

During the Buffalo Dance, both men and women remain seated on their respective sides of the room. Only one person at a time dances, the dancing beginning when a man takes the hooves and carries them twice around the room and on the second go-around tosses the hooves to a woman; then the woman dances twice around and tosses the hooves to a man, and so on back and forth until everybody has had his turn at dancing. But of course there is much more to it than that. The dancing is performed in imitation of the mating of the buffalo, and as the men dance they prance and stomp and grunt and lower their heads like bull buffalo, and the dancing women project the coyness and seductiveness of the buffalo cow. There is no set pattern for dancing—everyone is free to improvise and to dance as originally and as entertainingly as he can, and this is where the fun comes in. The whole proceeding radiates a tone of merriment and good humor, and when a man dances up to a woman she will shake her head in mock protest and flap her blanket or skirt at the "bull" to frighten him away. And when a woman dances close to a man he will grunt and hook his buffalo horns at her in an attempt to discourage her overtures—or else, with humorously exaggerated dignity, he will pretend to ignore her completely.

It was Mrs. Tom Many Guns, dressed in a beautiful Indian costume of predominating blue, with blue beadwork on her moccasins and a fine blue blanket over her shoulders, that received the hooves from Joe Horn, the young drummer. (Joe had been replaced at the drum by Fish Wolfrobe, who is blind and so could not see to engage in the Buffalo Dance.)

remote wilderness by firing several salutes in the court-yard of the fort, for which it is usual to give them something to drink, or else a present. Our entertainment for the evening was the noise of the drum of the Indian camp, which is employed not only to drive the evil spirit out of the sick, but in their dances and other amusements, and is, therefore, heard almost every day and every hour. We were likewise much entertained by the antics of three young bears, which ran about in the court-yard. Another very pretty animal had been brought up in the fort: this was a young prairie fox, which Mr. Mitchell made me a present of, and which, by its tameness and vivacity, helped to amuse us during the following winter. Our new lodging swarmed with mice, which ran over our feet while we were writing, and kept the traps set for them continually in motion. We trained my pretty little fox to this sport, which was new to him, and he soon became a capital mouser.

Also on this day preparations were made for the solemn reception of the Indians, which always precedes the opening of the trade, and which is considered by the Indians as a matter of great importance. The flag being hoisted, two small cannon, placed in the middle of the court-yard, fired signals for the commencement of the trade. It was full half an hour before a noise arose in the Indian camp: we heard singing, firing of guns, and saw the mass of the Indians advancing on all sides. When Ninoch-Kiaiu (the bear chief) approached the gate, it was opened, and the two cannon were again fired. He entered, followed by three or four chiefs, who approached Mr. Mitchell with their heads inclined; and, after shaking hands with him, were made to sit down in the Indian apartment. Soon afterwards another body appeared, and Mr. Mitchell went out of the gate to meet them. They advanced in small parties, headed by their chiefs, who always bring a present consisting either of some beavers' skins or of a horse. The first horses that we received in this manner were two greys and a light bay, which were variously painted with red, chiefly on the forehead, the shoulders, and the haunches, and marked on the legs with transverse stripes like a zebra.

The chiefs and about thirty of the principal warriors were admitted, and, after being seated on buffalo hides in the dining apartment, they refreshed themselves by drinking and smoking. In this manner three or four different bands advanced with rapid strides, repeatedly discharging their guns, and singing their rude songs. We observed some remarkable,

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placed against the walls; others, in their deplorable condition, were pulled about by their relations, amid tears and lamentations. The White Buffalo, whom I have often mentioned, and who had received a wound at the back of his head, was carried about, in this manner, amid singing, howling, and crying: they rattled the schischikué in his ears, that the evil spirit might not overcome him, and gave him brandy to drink. He himself, though stupefied and intoxicated, sung without intermission, and would not give himself up to the evil spirit. Otsequa-Stomik, an old man of our acquaintance, was wounded in the knee by a ball, which a woman cut out with a penknife, during which operation he did not betray the least symptom of pain. Natah-Otann, a handsome young man, with whom we had become acquainted, was suffering dreadfully from severe wounds. Several Indians, especially young women, were likewise wounded. We endeavoured to assist the wounded, and Mr. Mitchell distributed balsam, and linen for bandages, but very little could be done; for, instead of suffering the wounded, who were exhausted by the loss of blood, to take some rest, their relations continually pulled them about, sounded large bells, rattled their medicine or amulets, among which were the bears' paws, which the White Buffalo wore on his breast. A spectator alone of this extraordinary scene can form any idea of the confusion and the noise, which was increased by the loud report of the musketry, the moving backwards and forwards of the people carrying powder and ball, and the tumult occasioned by above twenty horses shut up in the fort.

When the enemy were still very near the fort, Mr. Mitchell had given orders to fire the cannon of the right-hand front block-house among them; but this had not been done, because the Blackfeet were partly mixed with the Assiniboins; no use, therefore, had been made of them, of which the Indians complained bitterly. The enemy gradually retreated, and concentrated themselves in several detachments on the brow of the hill, and this gave us an opportunity to open the gate, with due precaution, and view the destroyed tents and the bodies of the slain. The Indian who was killed near the fort especially interested me, because I wished to obtain his skull. The scalp had already been taken off, and several Blackfeet were engaged in venting their rage on the dead body. The men fired their guns at it; the women and children beat it with clubs, and pelted it with stones; the fury of the latter was particularly directed against the privy parts.

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